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Inhoud / *Contents*

Preface

The theme of this third issue of *The Netherlands-Japan Review* is the Tōkaidō - the Eastern Sea Road that connected the cities of Edo and Kyoto and was the most heavily travelled artery in early-modern Japan. We are fortunate in having both a preview of Andreas Marks' forthcoming monograph *Kabuki Brain Puzzles*, which situates the Tōkaidō squarely within the history, the art, and the literature of Japan, and the first instalment of the documentary that the Belgian cinematographer Luc Cuyvers made of the road as it is nowadays, 150 years after it was abandoned in favour of railways and motor ways. Also on the theme are the erudite interpretation by Matthias Forrer of one print of Hiroshige's series "The fifty-three stations of the Tōkaidō," and another calligraphy by Arthur Witteveen, "the road is long." In order to show that even nowadays the Tōkaidō has not lost its hold on the imagination of the Japanese, Adriana Hidding, who is studying in Kyoto, has sent in a short column showing a miraculous contraption made by one of her acquaintances there. It is called the "Whale Apartment," and the experiment has shown that it is *not* the best way to travel the Tōkaidō.

A second substantial contribution to this issue is Alice Ravensberg's study of the sale of a small paddle steamer to Japan in the year of the forced opening of the country, 1854. For Ms. Ravensberg, it is an offshoot of her research into the family of the man who sold the ship, the merchant J.R. Lange, but for us, the new materials she has discovered transport us back to those last years of exclusive Dutch trade and diplomacy in Nagasaki. The Dutch monopoly was expiring, but the Dutch government, more specifically the king and the Ministry of Colonies, was still willing to make an effort to maintain our special relationship with Japan. One of the ideas was to sell ships to Japan and to help Japan build its own modern navy. The government-general in Batavia reorganised the trade, and the navy sent ships, and in 1854 Lange, the last lessee of the kambang trade, brought a small steamship with him that was assembled in Nagasaki. That he had done this was known, but many of the details are revealed here for the first time.

The review by Hans Kuijpers of David Mitchell's recent book *The Thousand Autumns of Jacob de Zoet* again brings us to Deshima, but half a century earlier, when the East-Indian Company has just gone bankrupt and the English navy tries to get hold of the Dutch factory.

Last but not least, Dick Stegewerns has contributed a new column on Japanese politics, picking up after Hatoyama and the World Cup, and Frans Verwayen has given us a third translation of modern Japanese poetry. The writer of this poem, Itō Hiromi, participated in Poetry International in Rotterdam in June of this year. Readers who are interested enough to

pursue the subject can find a short video that shows her introducing and reading one of her poems. It is to be found through the following link:
http://japan.poetryinternationalweb.org/piw_cms/cms/cms_module/index.php?obj_id=17871&x=1
Another link, giving general information about this poet, is:
http://japan.poetryinternationalweb.org/piw_cms/cms/cms_module/index.php?obj_id=7833

When you read this, you will have noticed that as from this issue *The Netherlands-Japan Review* is accessible to subscribers only. We hope that those who have read this issue will be glad that they subscribed, and will tell those of their friends, family, and acquaintances who have an interest in Japan, to do the same.

On behalf of the editorial board

W.J. Boot

Team Play

Dick Stegewerns

Japan's national sports are having an increasingly hard time. The traditional national sport of sumo wrestling is under surveillance because of scandals that have exposed the intimate links between the sumo world and the Japanese mafia. The modern national sport of baseball is continuously losing popularity. None of the commercial TV channels is willing to 'sacrifice' its prime time Friday evening slot to live broadcast the classic Tokyo Giants versus Hanshin Tigers game. In contrast, soccer is doing well, with all the major channels competing to broadcast the world cup matches by the national team. However, a country that holds a national election on the same day as the world cup final is definitely not yet up to 'European standards'. Those with an interest in both competitions found themselves switching between the NHK education channel (!) for the soccer game and the regular NHK channel for the final results of the Upper House elections.

During the last few weeks these two forms of entertainment have offered a completely different picture. Although the individual popularity of the blue samurai's maverick striker and top scorer Honda Keisuke is hard to deny, the discourse used by both the Japan Soccer Association and the various media is all about kizuna (collective bonds). Japan, number 45 on the FIFA world ranking, has risen above its mediocre standing and reached the best sixteen because of the strong team spirit amongst the players' collective. This is even blown up by the leading Japanese newspaper to such wartime propaganda headlines as 'The 120 million who have shown the world the true Japanese spirit'.

In the meantime the Japanese government has enacted a show of disunity. During the latter days of Prime Minister Hatoyama Yukio's short reign, the Social Democrats left the coalition cabinet because of the Okinawa issue. And immediately after Prime Minister Kan Naoto took office in June the leader of the other small party in the coalition resigned because of the postal system issue. Nonetheless, the most eye-catching struggle was within the ruling Democratic Party (DPJ) itself. The party had succeeded in regaining its popularity by bringing in the clean face of Kan. But the man himself suddenly started calling for a raise of the consumption tax, with the slogan 'Don't turn Japan into a second Greece'. It will hardly need mentioning that all politicians try to evade the words 'tax raise' during election time, because these are linked to electoral defeat.

However, Kan's crucial mistake was to make this the central issue of the elections without the support of his own party. In a situation where one DPJ politician propagates the pro-tax raise call by prime minister and party leader Kan while another DPJ politician advocates the anti-tax raise party program you cannot run a normal election campaign. It seems as if Kan was trying to imitate Japan's last successful and long-reigning Prime Minister Koizumi Junichirō. Calling out directly to the public, over the heads of the party elders, to bring these in line with his policy preferences. However, Kan is not the populist performer Koizumi was. And although the latter also emphasized there could be no structural reform without suffering, he made sure to

stay away from something as unpopular as a raise of the consumption tax.

In a system geared towards a two-party system and an atmosphere of anti-LDP and pro-DPJ sentiment most commentators previously predicted a non-election that would bring about solid and unrivaled DPJ rule. Because of the immaturity of the DPJ leaders now, only ten months after what many termed 'Japan's political revolution', the country is once again burdened by an unstable government and small one-issue parties holding the key vote. Since national elections for the more important Lower House are not due within the next three years there is no immediate need for Kan to resign. However, due to his disrespect for the Japanese public virtue of collective spirit, he may very well be toppled in the DPJ party leadership elections in September and accordingly become the fifth Japanese prime minister in line to step down within a year. Japan can certainly do with more continuity, stability and team play at this time of crisis.

Dick Stegewerns is Associate Professor in Modern and Contemporary Japanese Studies at the University of Oslo.

The Tōkaidō: a Road as Theme within Japanese Arts

Andreas Marks

This essay presents the Tōkaidō theme within Japanese arts with the exception of Japanese woodblock prints (*ukiyoe*)[1]. First, the importance of the Tōkaidō during the Edo period is described to elucidate why this theme developed. An historical overview is given, starting with the Tōkaidō's original construction in the eighth century based on Chinese models, to its extension in the twelfth century due to military necessity, and to its final route in the seventeenth century. The second part concentrates on aspects of the Tōkaidō captured in the arts: the geographical characteristics of this highway and the vivid life that flourished along it, including a description of the different types of travellers. This is followed by examples of the perception of the Tōkaidō in Edo period literature and art.

1. The Tōkaidō from a historical-cultural perspective

The history of the Tōkaidō

During the Edo period (1603–1868), the Tōkaidō 東海道 was the main arterial road in Japan. It connected the two most politically important cities: Edo (present day Tokyo), the residence of the Tokugawa government, in the East, and the imperial capital, Kyoto, in the West. The Tōkaidō was part of a network of larger and smaller highways between the three major cities Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka and minor cities throughout the country. Edo was the predominant city because it was the location of the *bakufu*, the shogunate. Kyoto was the cultural centre and also had great industrial importance. Osaka, the financial and commercial centre, controlled shipping and trade.[2]

The route of what literally translates as the 'Eastern sea road' ran, according to its name, from Edo to Kyoto along the Pacific Ocean, adjusted to the mountainous countryside. The start and end of the route were bridges: the Nihonbashi 日本橋 in Edo and the Sanjō Ōhashi 三条大橋 in Kyoto. The distance from start to end is 126 *ri* 6 *chō* and 1 *ken*, or c. 495 km.[3] It was common to say that one travelled from Edo up to the imperial capital Kyoto, *nobori* 上り, and from there down to Edo, *kudari* 下り.[4] With the transfer of the imperial residence from Kyoto to Edo in the Meiji period, this concept of 'up' and 'down' was reversed, and remains so today, especially for trains.

1 This essay is based on the third chapter of the author's PhD thesis, *Kabuki brain puzzles: Station-character motif patterns in the actor Tōkaidō series of Utagawa Kunisada (1786–1865)*, defended at Leiden University on July 1, 2010. The complete thesis will be published by Brill in 2011 (ISBN 978 9004 191464, www.brill.nl). The editors thank the author and the publisher for their cooperation.

2 Cf. Moriya 1990, 97–99.

3 Cf. Hori 2003, 156.

4 The term *kudari* was also used by kabuki actors when coming down to Edo for a performance, cf. Leiter 1997, 361; Iwata 2002, 128–29.

The oldest law code of Japan, the *Taihō ritsuryō* or Taihō Code (701-702), is connected with the beginning of a network of highways in Japan. Among other things that code stipulated that the administration had to be modelled after the example set by China's Tang dynasty (618–907). The country was divided into provinces (*kuni*), which were subdivided into districts (*gun*).[5] Each province was governed from a provincial capital. In order to supervise these provinces, they were organized for inspection purposes into seven circuits (*dō*); these were the Tōkaidō, Tōsandō 東山道, and Hokurikudō 北陸道 to the east and the north of the capital, the San'indō 山陰道 and San'yōdō 山陽道 to the west of the capital, the Nankaidō 南海道 (i.e. the four provinces of Shikoku) to the south, and the Saikaidō 西海道 (i.e. the nine provinces of Kyushu) in the west. *The Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihon shoki*) of 720 mentions the Tōkaidō twice, in entries under the years 588 and 686, both times referring to the group of fifteen provinces.

The road system connecting the provinces followed the Chinese example that was already in place in the ancient Chinese Zhou dynasty (c.1025–221 bc). It was a network of post stations, established for the military and for official couriers, where travellers could eat and rest. These post stations were initially built every ten miles (Ch.: *li*), later every thirty.[6] This network was well known throughout ancient China; it is even mentioned in philosophical writings, *e.g.* in the book *Mencius*, a collection of sayings and conversations of the Confucian thinker Mengzi (c. 372–289 bc).[7] Since the Tang dynasty, the 1,630 post stations were under military control and the couriers were soldiers. It was reported that the emperor Xuanzong (685–762, r.712–756; posthumous name Minghuang 明皇) used this network of roads to transport fresh lychees over thousands of kilometres to satisfy his favourite Yang Guifei (719–756).[8]

In Japan, too, roads were laid out within the provinces mainly to transport taxes and to speed up the journey of officials from the capital to the provinces and back, which took approximately ninety-one days per direction. The roads only served governmental interests, and the inns and castles were therefore only available for governmental use.[9] This restriction was loosened in 833 and orders were given that separate buildings within temple compounds had to be installed to host unofficial travellers.[10]

The growing importance of the Tōkaidō region is apparent in the literature of the time, as it is mentioned by name, e.g. in the war epic *The Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari*) from the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[11] In 1185, the first shogun, Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147–1199), commanded that the road between Kyoto and his capital Kamakura (in the Tōkaidō province Sagami) had to be extended to sixty-three stations (*shukueki*). By extending the highway and his military reach, Yoritomo hoped to control more efficiently the provinces distant from Kamakura. During the following years, these extensions continued. In order to increase control over the country, in 1189 it was determined that messages from Kyoto to Kamakura had to be delivered within seven days. In 1239, this was reduced to four days,

5 Cf. Hall 1987, 55–57.

6 Cf. Cheng 1970, 8.

7 Mention is made of frontier-passes, road taxes, messengers in, e.g., *Mencius* 2A.5 and 2B.2.

8 Cf. Cheng 1970, 9.

9 Cf. Traganou 2004, 16.

10 Cf. Graham 1980, 3.

11 Book 5, Chapter 9 of *The Tale of the Heike*, "The Exile of Mongaku" (*Mongaku nagasare*), states, that Mongaku is banished to Izu, and that the governor of Izu, Minamoto no Nakatsuna, decides that he will make him travel by boat "from Tōkaidō," meaning from the first province of the Tōkai Circuit that he enters coming from Kyoto, *i.e.* Ise. I am grateful to W.J. Boot for this interpretation. In Book 7, Chapter 1, "*Shimizu no Kanja*" the Tōkaidō makes another appearance.

whereas an average journey took twelve to fifteen days.[12]

In the following centuries, the influence of the central government diminished and security in the provinces could no longer be guaranteed. Bandits made the roads unsafe and travel became extremely difficult. During the period of long and bloody warfare between various feudal lords (1467-1568) the roads deteriorated, but in the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1568–1600) the warlords who were reuniting the country again attached great importance to a well-functioning road system. Under the first of them, Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), five ministers supervised the extension of the highways.

After the unification of the country under Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616), the final structure of the road network was completed and remained unchanged until the industrialization of the country in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Tōkaidō became Japan's most important arterial road and a national symbol. In 1601, Tokugawa Ieyasu commanded the extension of the Tōkaidō, and in the following years, the *gokaidō* 五街道 were established, a network of five tree-lined roads starting from Edo's Nihonbashi:

Nakasendō 中山道 (also called Kisokaidō 木曽街道), the inland road to Kyoto;
Tōkaidō **東海道**, along the Pacific coast to Kyoto;
Kōshūkaidō 甲州街道, to Shimosuwa 下諏訪;
Ōshūkaidō 奥州街道, to Shirakawa 白河;
Nikkōkaidō 日光街道, to Nikkō 日光.

The central government saw the expansion of the road network as a military and political necessity rather than as a matter of economics. Checkpoints (*sekisho* 関所), which to some extent existed already and were used to levy customs duties, were systematically established. The Tōkaidō had two of these checkpoints. The Arai checkpoint 新居関所 (also called Imagiri checkpoint 今切関所), c. 225 km away from the destination Kyoto, was built in 1601.[13] In 1636, the Hakone checkpoint 箱根関所, c. 97 km away from the starting point Nihonbashi, was put into operation.[14]

The checkpoints were enclosed by fences with one gate in each direction. Between the fences were fortified guardhouses. The Hakone checkpoint comprised an area of c. 7,800 square meters. Although the officers on duty were armed they would certainly not have been able to maintain their position in the case of an uprising.[15] The armament was intended to deter people from slipping through. Passage through the Hakone checkpoint was allowed every day between sunrise (the sixth hour of the morning, or *akemutsu* 明六つ) and sunset (the sixth hour of the evening or *kuremutsu* 暮六つ).[16]

In 1604, mile markers (*ichirizuka* 一里塚) were erected along the Tōkaidō in equal

12 Cf. Traganou 2004, 16.

13 Vaporis 1994, 101 mentions that this checkpoint was already built in 1600 or 1601.

14 A drawing of the Hakone checkpoint is in Takeuchi 2003, 18–19. The Arai checkpoint is preserved in its original form and the Hakone checkpoint is now being reconstructed and should be reopened in 2007.

15 Cf. Vaporis 1994, 112–14.

16 Cf. Hori 2003, 33. Before the introduction of the western system, in the Far East one counted six hours from sunset to sunrise, and another six hours from sunrise to sunset. At the time of the equinoxes, these hours all had the same length, and would correspond to two of our European hours. In winter, night hours were longer than day hours, and in summer it was the other way around. There were two ways of referring to individual hours: one was by the 12 animals of the zodiac, and one was by counting back from nine from the hours of midnight and midday. The midnight hour was the Hour of the Rat and the ninth hour. Sunrise occurred in the sixth hour, or the Hour of the Hare. Midday was again the ninth hour or the Hour of the Horse, and sunset was the sixth hour of the evening, called the Hour of the Cock.

distances of one *ri*.[17] These *ichirizuka* were earthen mounds positioned to the left and the right of the road with a diameter of 9.1 meters, on which hackberry trees (*enoki* 榎) were planted; these small groves were known as *namiki*.[18] They were used to assess transport costs and travel fees along the Tōkaidō and to provide better orientation, especially in the evening and during the winter. The width of the Tōkaidō varied from between 5.5 and 7.3 meters.[19]

In the following years, the communication and transportation systems for governmental use of the highway were systematized. The checkpoint system and the governmental post courier system were reformed in 1625.[20] The new rules at the checkpoints included that all persons had to take off their head gear, all persons in sedans had to open the doors for inspection, and if there was anything suspicious, anyone, regardless of his rank, could be inspected more closely.[21] This measure was obviously aimed against the illicit travelling of spouses of the feudal lords (*daimyō*) who were, in accordance with the system of alternate attendance (*sankin kōtai*), held hostage in Edo.

The system of alternate attendance was institutionalized in 1635 by the third shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604–1651). Under this policy, *daimyō* had to live one year in Edo and the next in their fief; however, their wife and children were not allowed to leave Edo.[22] It was at first applicable only to outside *daimyō* (*tozama daimyō*), but was extended to hereditary *daimyō* (*fudai daimyō*) in 1642. The collateral *daimyō* (*shinpan daimyō*), who were closely related to the main branch of the Tokugawa, were exempt.[23]

Keeping two residences and making frequent journeys to and from Edo with an appropriate entourage were very costly. Henry D. Smith II believes that because of this system approximately 300,000 samurai lived in Edo permanently, staffing the *daimyō* residences.[24] The traffic along the Tōkaidō was dominated by the *sankin kōtai* system, for roughly sixty per cent of all *daimyō* processions (*daimyō gyōretsu* 大名行列) travelled along the Tōkaidō.[25] The size of the entourage depended on the assessed productivity of the fief, measured in units of rice (*koku*). An important *daimyō* had to appear magnificent, as befitted his status. The procession was divided into sections with banner men (*hatamoto*) and other retainers, cavalry, foot soldiers, porters, and servants. According to etiquette, the other travellers had to respect the rank of the *daimyō* and behave appropriately.[26] Because of the high number of processions and the danger of congestion, the *bakufu* decided which *daimyō* travelled when.

As the highways were increasingly used by private travellers, the available services were modified to cope with their needs and a price system was established. A service that was frequently used by travellers was prostitution. The prostitutes were mostly female servants. The *bakufu* tried to control this custom by banning prostitutes from inns in 1659. Since this was difficult to enforce, the same prohibition was once again proclaimed in 1662. Again it showed to be ineffective, and from 1718, every inn was allowed to have two 'female servants' (*meshimori*

17 Cf. Takeuchi 2003, 32–34. A comparable system, taken over from China, was already used before by Oda Nobunaga.

18 Cf. Graham 1980, 11; Ehmcke 1994, 60.

19 Cf. Vaporis 1994, 36.

20 Cf. Takeuchi 2003, 32–34.

21 Cf. Vaporis 1994, 120.

22 Some *daimyō* were allowed to alternate their residence every few years rather than relocating annually.

23 For further details, see Takeuchi 2003, 66–67; Graham 1980, 4.

24 Cf. Smith 1993, 30.

25 Tsukahira 1966, 70–71, mentions that in the year 1821 146 of 245 *daimyō* travelled along the Tōkaidō. See also Vaporis 1994, 28.

26 Cf. Traganou 2004, 76–78.

onna 飯盛女).[27] According to Constantine Vaporis, the station of Shinagawa had 1,358 'post town entertainment women' (*shukuba jorō* 宿場女郎) in 1844.[28] Apart from Shinagawa, Okazaki was also well known for its prostitutes, and, in addition, Fuchū was especially famous for its pleasure quarter Nichōmachi 二丁町.

The official courier system was copied in 1663 by merchants. Three times per month, messages were delivered between Osaka and Edo with a delivery time of around twelve days.[29] In 1696, the fastest official couriers (*hayauma* 早馬) needed sixty to sixty-five hours for the distance between Edo and Kyoto.[30] Large cargo, however, was still transported by sea because carts with wheels were not allowed on the Tōkaidō. To provide efficient and smooth transport, the *sukegō* 助郷 system of 'assisting villages' was established in 1694. These were villages in the vicinity of the post stations that in times of high demand had to help out with horses and porters.[31]

Within the next 150 years, the structure of the highways changed very little. The gravel surface allowed for travelling during bad weather conditions and the repair costs were limited, especially as the use of carts was banned on the Tōkaidō. Only from 1862 were carts with wheels officially allowed on all roads.[32]

With the opening of the country in the second half of the nineteenth century and the Meiji-restoration in 1868, modernization and industrialization began, and old customs became obsolete. The Tōkaidō and all other highways lost their main function. The *sankin kōtai* system was repealed in 1868 and one year later the checkpoints were also abandoned and people could travel freely. With the construction of the first railway lines in 1872 and telegraph lines in 1880, travel by foot and the horse courier system were no longer necessary.[33]

Travelling Along the Tōkaidō

The German physician Philipp Franz von Siebold travelled along the Tōkaidō in 1826. A description, published in 1841 in New York, following his travelogue, states:

> The roads, generally speaking, are good and sufficiently wide for the passage even of such travelling retinues as we have described. It is owing to the mountainous character of the country, a plain being scarcely anywhere to be found, and the practice of forming the roads in steps over the mountains, that wheel-carriages can be so little used. Most of the roads are bordered by trees. They are constantly kept clean, as much through the diligence of the peasantry in collecting manure as in honour of distinguished travellers, and the sides are thronged with the manufacturers and sellers of straw shoes for horses and oxen. […] It may be added, that roadbooks, containing every species of information important to travellers, down to a minutely accurate table of rates, charges, and prices for bearers at inns, ferries, &c., abound in Japan.[34]

Every station had its own special appeal or attraction; a famous site, a popular view, a historical reference, or a local specialty (*meibutsu* 名物). The town's inhabitants, such as the female touts

27 Cf. Fister 1980, 23.

28 Cf. Vaporis 1994, 81.

29 For further details, see Graham 1980, 15; Moriya 1990, 108.

30 Cf. Ehmcke 1994, 59.

31 Cf. Vaporis 1994, 58–60.

32 Ibid., 47.

33 Cf. Graham 1980, 17.

34 Cf. anonymous 1977, 72.

(*tome-onna* 留女) of the station Goyu who tried to lure male travellers into the inns, were also the subject of interest.[35]

A journey from Edo to Kyoto normally started from Nihonbashi, which in 1618 was 37 *ken,* 4 *shaku,* and 5 *sun* (c. 68 m) long and 4 *ken,* 2 *shaku,* and 5 *sun* wide (c. 8 m).[36] The bridge went over an extension of the River Sumida. All five main highways started from here, which therefore led the Nihonbashi, much like the Forum Romanum, to be perceived as the centre of the country. As starting and ending points, Edo and Kyoto were not traditionally counted among the stations of the Tōkaidō, of which there were 53 (*Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi*). The Tōkaidō passed through ten provinces: Musashi, Sagami, Izu, Suruga, Tōtōmi, Mikawa, Owari, Ise, Ōmi, and Yamashiro.

Initially, the route from Edo followed the coastline without encountering any major geographical obstacles. After a short distance of two *ri* (7.8 km), the first station was Shinagawa. Shortly before the second station, Kawasaki, travellers were brought to a halt by the River Rokugō, which had to be crossed by ferry.[37] There were three possible ways of crossing rivers along the Tōkaidō: by ferry, by bridge, or with the help of porters. How a river could be crossed depended on its depth and width. As with the Rokugō, the rivers Ban'yū, Fuji, and Tenryū were crossed by ferries using punt poles.[38]

The Tōkaidō had only three large bridges: at Yoshida across the River Toyo, at Okazaki across the River Yahagi, and the Large Seta Bridge (*Seta Ōhashi*) at Kusatsu. The bridge across the River Yahagi was built in 1600 on seventy pillars and was, with 378 meters, the longest bridge of the country. When crossing the bridge, a fee had to be paid. The same applied to pontoon bridges (*ukibashi* 浮橋) that were made of several boats tied together.

The common way to cross a river was at a ford with the service of porters (*kawagoshi ninsoku* 川越人足). High-ranking travellers were carried over in their sedans; other people and luggage were carried on stretchers (*rendai* 輦台) or directly on the porters' backs (*kataguruma* 肩車). Depending on the depth of the water, it could have been rather dangerous, thus the price was adjusted according to the depth. For example, the price at Japan's widest river, the River Ōi, varied in the 1830s between 38 and 94 *mon*.[39] If it was too dangerous to cross, the river was closed (*kawadome* 川止め) and the travellers had little choice but to wait, thus prolonging the duration and expense of their journey.

Apart from the danger and inconvenience of crossing a river, the other major geographical challenges were mountain roads and passes. The most demanding was the Gongen Slope (*Gongenzaka*) over the 849 meters high Hakone Pass (*Hakone tōge*). Another complicated mountain pass was the Satta Pass (*Satta tōge*) between Yui and Okitsu. The road was built in 1655 to provide a Korean delegation with a more comfortable journey.[40] Until then, the road had followed the coastline along the Suruga Bay (*Suruga-wan*). Because of the turbulent sea, it could only be used at low tide, and even then people were still at risk. The new road was high above the bay on a steep slope. The third most demanding pass was the Utsunoya Pass (*Utsunoya tōge*) between Mariko and Okabe. It was previously mentioned as the 'narrow path with ivy' (*tsuta no hosomichi* 蔦の細道) in a poem by the poet Ariwara no Narihira (825–880)

35 Cf. Spinks 1954, 8.

36 Now *c.* 49 meters long, cf. Ishikawa 1977, 121.

37 The ferry service was stopped after a bridge was built in 1868, cf. Hori 2003, 13.

38 Vaporis 1994, 48, mentions eight rivers that could have been crossed by ferry and four other larger rivers.

39 Cf. Takeuchi 2003, 107.

40 Cf. Hori 2003, 50.

in the *Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari*).[41] In the winter, it was especially dangerous to cross rivers and use the mountain roads. To provide better orientation, apart from the mile markers, direction signs (*dōhyō* 道標) were erected.

The size of the station villages varied. In 1843, Sakanoshita with 564 inhabitants was the smallest, and Ōtsu with 14,892 inhabitants was the largest of the fifty-three stations along the Tōkaidō.[42] Some stations were port towns, e.g. Kawasaki, some were temple towns such as Mishima, and others were castle towns. The Tōkaidō passed through nine of such castles towns: Odawara, Numazu, Fuchū, Kakegawa, Hamamatsu, Yoshida, Okazaki, Kuwana, and Kameyama.

Travellers could choose between distinctive types of inns to stay overnight, but the luxurious *honjin* 本陣 were only for daimyō and other high-ranking officials. Announcement boards were put up in front of the *honjin* to inform all travellers which *daimyō* was staying there. In 1843, most of the stations had two to three *honjin*; only Odawara had eight.[43] The average traveller could have stayed in so-called *hatagoya* 旅籠屋, with prices depending on the level of comfort.[44] The cheapest resting places were *kichin-yado* 木賃宿 (lit. 'fire wood fee inn'), where travellers had only to pay for the firewood and arrange for their own meals. In *kichin-yado*, the customers slept on straw mats laid out in large sleeping halls.[45]

Fig. 1 Utagawa Kunisada (1786–1865) and Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858). Arai: Scenery of Enko Canal (Arai: Enko horie fūkei), from the series Fifty-three Stations by Two Brushes (Sōhitsu gojūsan tsugi). IV/1855. Published by Maruya Kyūshirō. Color woodcut, ōban. Ca. 37 × 25 cm. National Diet Library

41 The poem (see *Ise monogatari* 9) reads: Here in Suruga / At Mount Utsu / Neither in reality / Nor in my dreams / I can meet you. (*Suruga naru / Utsu no yamabe no / utsutsu ni mo / yume ni mo hito ni / awanu narikeri*).

42 Cf. Vaporis 1994, 265–66.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., 226–27.

45 Cf. Ehmcke 2003, 22–24.

Robbers and thieves were a common threat. Travellers were popular targets, since they carried all of their money with them. It was wise to be cautious, especially during the night because of thieves known as 'pillow gropers' (*makura-sagashi* 枕探し).[46] Certain inns betrayed travellers and abused them, which gave travelling a bad reputation. Other inns, however, established associations to provide safe shelter.[47] One of these was the *Naniwa-kō* 浪花講 (*Association of Merchants Originated in Osaka*).[48]

Almost all travellers needed official permission for travelling. Two different types of permission existed: the travel permit (*sekisho tegata* 関所手形) and the travel pass (*ōrai tegata* 往来手形).[49] Every traveller was checked at the two checkpoints along the Tōkaidō, the Hakone checkpoint and the Arai checkpoint. This check was mainly done to control the delivery of weapons to Edo and the departure of women from Edo (*iri-deppō ni de-onna* 入り鉄砲に出女).

The Hakone checkpoint was specialized in tracking down *de-onna*, female members of *daimyō* families who lived in Edo and tried to leave without a permit. All women, regardless of their status, needed a permit when leaving the city. An edict from 1711 specifies the inspection of women. All women who wanted to pass through a checkpoint had to be checked according to their travel documents. If they were carried in a sedan, they had to be brought to the guard house for an examination by a female inspector (*onna-aratame* 女改).[50] Their clothes, eyebrows, teeth, and hair were checked. If there were any doubts about the sex of the inspected person, the anatomy was examined more closely.[51] This was also applicable to persons who were believed to be female. Androgynous-looking boys could be ordered to open their kimono for inspection (*see Fig. 1*).[52]

The second function of the Hakone checkpoint was the thorough inspection of travellers for weapons in order to prevent a coup d'état. Anyone who tried to sneak through the gate risked the death penalty.

Travelling along the Tōkaidō in the Edo period was not an adventure into the unknown, but an established way of travelling with its own kind of excitement. There were four main reasons for travelling in the Edo Period: business, pilgrimage, *sankin kōtai*, or pleasure. In the early twentieth century, the painter Kanamori Nankō (1880–1935) depicted an imaginary travel scene at Ōtsu, the last station before Kyoto, providing a glimpse of travelling in the old times (*see Fig. 2*). Typical Tōkaidō travellers were:

Processions of feudal lords
Officials
Samurai
Couriers
Merchants and tradesmen
Itinerant monks (*unsui* 雲水), mendicants (*komusō* 虚無僧), and monks travelling to deliver hand-copied sutra to the sixty-six temples (*rokubu* 六部)[53]
Buddhist nuns (*bikuni*)
Pilgrims (*junrei* 順礼)

46 Cf. Spinks 1954, 14.

47 Other important associations are the *Azuma-kō* 東講 and the *Santo-kō* 三都講, cf. Vaporis 1994, 230.

48 Cf. Fister 1980, 24.

49 Cf. Vaporis 1994, 137–39.

50 Ibid., 121.

51 Ibid., 164.

52 Ibid., 167–68.

53 For a list of the 66 holy sites, see Nishiyama 1997, 123.

Sightseers
Porters (*ninsoku*)
Rōnin (masterless samurai)
Beggars
Thieves

And people who travelled for a living, e.g.:
- Theatre groups
- Musicians, such as blind singing women (*goze* 瞽女)
- Exorcists (*yakuharai* 厄払)[54]
- Doctors
- Craftsmen
- Peddlers

Peasants were very fond of pilgrimages.[55] The Shinto shrine in Ise was the most popular place of worship in Japan. An average farmer would have never been able to afford such a journey on his own, which led to the establishment of so-called 'Ise clubs' (*Ise-kō* 伊勢講 in the villages. These clubs collected money, and it was decided through a lottery who would travel.[56] The travellers represented their village and received a farewell gift (*senbetsu* 餞別), mostly

Fig 2 Kanamori Nankō (1880–1935). *"Scene from Ōtsu."* Early 20th century. Two-panel folding screen, ink and colors on paper. 142.2 × 165.1 cm. Clark Center for Japanese Art & Culture (2002.003)

54 For a detailed description, see Nishiyama 1997, 113–15.

55 Cf. Traganou 2004, 72–74.

56 Cf. Ehmcke 1994, 62.

money. It was their duty to bring souvenirs (*miyage* 土産) in exchange.[57] Pilgrims came from all over the country and in certain periods mass pilgrimages (*okage-mairi* 御蔭参り) occurred. In 1830, between the first and the thirtieth day of the third month, over 228,000 pilgrims were counted in Ise alone. It is estimated that a total of 5,000,000 people participated in the 1830/31 mass pilgrimage.[58]

Courier systems that varied in both price and speed were established along the Tōkaidō. The *sando-hikyaku* 三度飛脚 courier service was offered nine times per month and the transmission of a message took six days.[59] The faster station courier service (*tsugi-hikyaku* 次飛脚) delivered messages only to the consecutive stations.[60] It was always a pair of runners, one carrying the letter box, the other a lantern inscribed *goyō* 御用 ('in government service'), signifying that everybody had to let them through.[61] At the beginning of the eighteenth century, this service was overtaken by an express delivery service (*haya-hikyaku* 早飛脚). The *haya-hikyaku* needed three and a half days for the journey Edo-Kyoto. After the couriers were allowed to travel during the night in the early nineteenth century, this service was able to speed up the delivery to two days.[62]

The *bakufu* had introduced a tripartite system of fees for the transport services of the stations. For certain government officers and officials, the transport was free of charge (*muchin jōsha* 無賃乗車). The remaining officials and *daimyō* had to pay a fixed charge (*osadame chinsen* 御定賃銭). All others had to bargain with the porters (*aitai chinsen* 相対賃銭), and the prices varied according to the type of the cargo. It was roughly double the fixed price, and the charges on the Tōkaidō were usually one third higher than on the other highways.[63] Normal station porters, who carried their load only to the next station and then returned, were usually limited to a load of 5 *kan* (18.75 kg).[64]

Higher ranking or wealthier travellers were allowed to be carried in sedans (*kago* 駕籠). The sedans differed in the length of the carrying pole, the number of carriers, whether they were open or closed, and whether they had a pillow. Some types of sedans could be used only by persons of a certain status or with special permission.[65] The basic sedan (*ryōgake* 両掛) was carried by one man in the front and one in the back (*kagokaki* 駕籠舁). Express sedans (*haya-kago* 早駕籠), guaranteeing a faster journey, were carried by two porters, while a third pulled in the front and a fourth pushed from behind. The porters were exchanged at each station but the passenger could remain seated.[66] A luxurious sedan (*norimono* 乗物), providing for a more comfortable journey, was closed, and up to six bearers were needed to carry it.[67] Sedans for *daimyō* were the largest, and had many more carriers.

57 This custom is still alive today.

58 Cf. Ehmcke 1994, 63; Nenzi 2006, 77.

59 Cf. Moriya 1990, 107–09.

60 Ibid., 108.

61 Cf. Ehmcke 2003, 19.

62 Cf. Moriya 1990, 111–12.

63 Cf. Vaporis 1994, 26–27.

64 Horses carried a maximum of 40 *kan* (150 kg). Cf. Vaporis 1994, 27.

65 Cf. Graham 1980, 13.

66 Cf. Ehmcke 2003, 19–20.

67 Cf. Vaporis 1994, 221.

2. The Tōkaidō theme in Edo Period literature and art

With the growing significance of the Tōkaidō in the seventeenth century, it became the subject of fictitious, humorous travel books as well as of practical guidebooks and topographical maps. These publications were mostly enhanced with illustrations documenting the geography and the life along the Tōkaidō. No other highway in the world ever reached this level of attention in literature and art.

Because of the vast amount of material, only a few key works on the Tōkaidō, selected for their importance to the development of Tōkaidō-related *ukiyoe* series, can be outlined here. In order to provide a clear overview, the material is arranged in categories, beginning with non-printed works of art such as picture scrolls (*emaki*) and folding screens (*byōbu*), followed by printed material. The printed material includes literary works, non-erotic picture books, erotic books, topographical maps, and the board game *sugoroku* 双六. Within the distinctive categories, the works are dealt with in chronological order. For the enormous field of *ukiyoe* the reader is referred to the dissertation (Chapter 3.3) or to the forthcoming commercial edition.

Scrolls and screens

The so-called *Illustrated Book on the Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō* (*Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi zukan* 東海道五十三驛圖鑑), c. 1640, kept in the Daigoji Sanbōin Temple (Kyoto), is supposed to be the oldest surviving work illustrating the Tōkaidō.[68] The scroll is attributed to the genre painter Iwasa Matabei 岩佐又兵衛 (1578–1650), who saw himself as a painter of the Tosa tradition, though his works show unmistakable traces of the Kanō style of painting. Raised in Kyoto, he moved to Edo in 1637 to paint for the shogun. This scroll is probably a result of this journey.

The central focus of the scroll is on people and their occupations. The life along the Tōkaidō is documented in detail and the depicted people are captured in their movements. For example, a *daimyō* procession has been brought to a halt because of a kicking horse. In another part of the scroll, men and horses struggle with the deep waters of the River Ōi. Golden, horizontal cloud bands, the *suyarigasumi* すやり霞, on the upper and lower parts of the scroll run throughout the length of the work, in some places extending into the middle of the silk. The cloud bands increase when the highway climbs up a mountain. The scroll starts with the castle of Edo and ends in Kyoto.

The *Folding Screens of the Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō* (*Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi zu byōbu* 東海道五十三次圖屛風) is a pair of six-fold screens and the only work of its kind in which the artist, Kanō Munenobu 狩野宗信, who was a ninth generation Kanō school painter form the Nakabashi line, is confirmed.[69] This pair is dated to the Kanbun period (1661–1672) and located in the Edo-Tokyo Museum (Tokyo).[70]

The panorama-like painting shows the route of the Tōkaidō from Edo to Ōtsu. Because of the scale of the subject, the depiction is divided into two levels. Starting from top right, the route from Edo to Numazu (the twelfth station) is continued onto the left-hand screen, covering Hara to Mitsuke (the 28th station), to be taken up again bottom right showing Hamamatsu to Kuwana (station no. 42), and ends bottom left with Yokkaichi to Ōtsu. Broad bands of cloud rendered in gold leaf separate the upper part from the lower. Through these emerge green mountain peaks,

68 Illustrated in Ōto 1976, figs. 2–10, 98; and Kodama 1977, fig. 387.

69 The painter mentioned here is not to be confused with the Kanō Munenobu 狩野宗信 (Sukeyuki 祐雪, 1514–1562), who was in the service of the Ashikaga *shogun*. Cf. Roberts 1990, 114.

70 Illustrated in Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 2001, fig. 11; and Kodama 1977, fig. 4.

snow-capped Fuji, and the white walls and grey roofs of the castles.

In the Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Cultural History is kept a six-fold screen pair called *Folding Screens of the Tōkaidō* (*Tōkaidō zu byōbu* 東海道圖屛風), dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century.[71] It depicts the complete route from Edo to Kyoto. Like the preceding pair, the route is laterally divided into two parts, but the division itself is executed differently.

On the right screen the castle of Edo, the starting point, is in the upper right corner and the first section ends at Okitsu. Separated through golden cloud bands and deep blue water, the route goes on in the lower part of the right screen from Ejiri to Hamamatsu. It then continues on the same height on the lower part of the left screen from Maisaka to Kuwana. The road finally moves up again to conclude with the section from Yokkaichi to Kyoto.

The unsigned *Tōkaidō Scroll* (*Tōkaidō emaki* 東海道絵巻) in the National Museum of Japanese History (Sakura, Chiba Prefecture), was probably painted at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[72] The panorama-like painting continues uninterrupted over 1,787.4 cm in length and 33.9 cm in height.

The detailed route from Shiba in Edo to Kyoto is depicted in light colours. Places and scenic spots are inscribed, and the stations are highlighted with yellow cartouches. In a realistic manner, the road sometimes disappears behind mountains. It does not seem to have been the intention of the painter or the person who commissioned it, to document the vivid life along the Tōkaidō, as people are not depicted.

Literary works and non-erotic picture books

Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (Dōshun 道春; 1583–1657) was a Confucian scholar and an adviser of Tokugawa Ieyasu.[73] He is the author of the single volume *Travel Notes from the Year Heishin* (*Heishin kikō* 丙辰紀行). Although issued in 1638, it describes a journey from Edo to Kyoto made in 1616, which year corresponds to the cyclical characters *heishin* (also read as *hinoe tatsu*). The emphasis is on historical incidents connected to certain localities.[74] The book was printed in large size (*ōbon* 大判本, c. 27 × 19 cm) without illustrations, and besides a few Chinese poems, is written largely in kana.[75]

Chikusai 竹斎, a *kanazōshi*[76] 仮名草子 that describes the journey of the incompetent quack Chikusai and his servant Niraminosuke from Kyoto via Osaka to Edo, is a comic novel, first issued in the Kan'ei period (1624–44) in two volumes and printed in movable type (*kokatsujibon* 古活字本); it is attributed to the physician Isoda Dōya 磯田道冶 (1585–1634).[77] The role of the

71 Illustrated in Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 2001, fig. 13.

72 Illustrated in ibid., fig. 22.

73 Cf. Kato 1990, 255–57.

74 Cf. May 1973, 67.

75 A copy of the first edition is in the library of the Department of Japanese Studies, University of Bonn (Collection Trautz No. 103).

76 *Kanazōshi* is a literary genre that was popular at the beginning of the Edo Period. The term denotes short prose narratives, written in an easy classical style, and intended to entertain, to enlighten, or to educate.

77 Isoda Dōya is also known as Tomiyama Dōya 富山道冶. May 1973, 16; Ehmcke 1994, 67; Keene 1999, 153; and Traganou 2004, 103, mention as author Tomiyama Dōya and the year 1620. Kato 1990, 273, erroneously read the author's name Isoda Dōji. Putzar 1961, 161, identified the author as the *waka* poet and writer Karasumaru Mitsuhiro (1579–1638). According to Ehmcke 1994, 67, it was published between 1626 and 1635. *Chikusai* is illustrated in Ōto 1976, fig. 55.

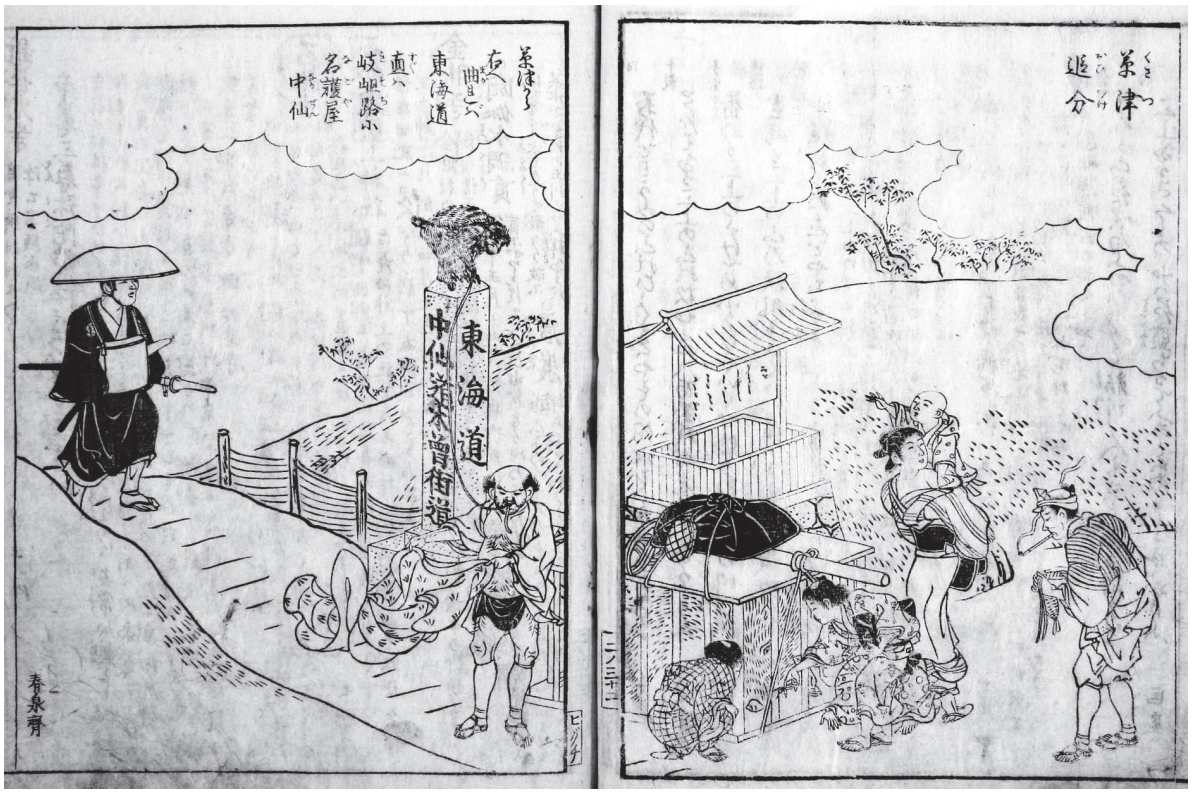

Fig. 3 Takehara Shunsensai (fl. 1789–1817). Forked Road at Kusatsu (Kusatsu oiwake), from Tōkaidō meisho zue (Gathering of Views of Famous Sights Along the Tōkaidō), vol. 2. 1797. Published by Kobayashi Shinbei et al. Woodblock-printed book. Ca. 18 × 27 cm. Waseda University Library

Tōkaidō is still marginal, and the focus is on the two travellers' experiences.[78] The illustrations are simple and the frequent use of cloud bands recalls the style of *emaki*. Because of its wide popularity later editions were issued with new illustrations and sometimes a modified title.[79]

Perhaps the most important work in the genre *meishoki* 名所記 (accounts on famous sights), is the Accounts on Famous Sights Along the Tōkaidō (*Tōkaidō meishoki* 東海道名所記), written in 1659 by Asai Ryōi 浅井了意 (1612–1691), a samurai turned *rōnin*.[80] The humorous narration of the journey of the monk Raku-Amidabutsu 楽阿弥陀仏, or Rakuami 楽あみ for short, together with his young companion, is the basis of this work.

The influence of travel records (*dōchūki* 道中記) and of the *Heishin kikō* is obvious; however, more elements are incorporated into the designs of the *Meishoki* than are accounted for by either of these previous works. These elements are practical travelling information and advice, records of famous places told through poems, comic poems, historical and religious background information, accounts of daily life, and descriptions of regional costumes and manners.[81]

Gathering of Views of Famous Sights Along the Tōkaidō (*Tōkaidō meisho zue* 東海道名所圖會), written by Akisato Ritō 秋里籬島 (act. 1780–1814) and published in 1797, is a large compendium of materials on geography, history, and literature in six chapters, describing

78 Partially translated in Putzar 1961.

79 Later editions with a modified title are e.g.: *Chikusai kyōka banashi* 竹斎狂哥ばなし (Manji period, 1658–61), *Chikusai shokoku monogatari* 竹斎諸国物語 (1713).

80 Biographical data are in May 1973, 30–51. See May 1973 for an in-depth analysis. For an illustration see Ōto 1976, fig. 59.

81 Cf. May 1973, 67–76.

a journey from Kyoto to Edo (*see Fig. 3*).[82] The illustrators are from various traditions of literati painting. Each illustration is in the painter's own style, resulting in a diversity of images. The main illustrators are Aoki Shukuya 青木夙夜 (d. 1802), Hara Zaisei 原在正 (d. 1810), Hayami Shungyōsai 速水春暁斎 (d. 1823), Ishida Yūtei 石田友汀 (1756–1815), Kamei Tōkei亀井東渓 (1748–1816), Kanō Eishun 狩野永俊 (1770–1810), Kinoshita Ōju 木下応受 (1777–1815), Kitao Masayoshi 北尾政美 (1764–1824), Maruyama Ōkyo 円山応挙 (1733–1795), Matsumura Gekkei 松村月渓 (1752–1811), Nishimura Chūwa 西村中和 (d. 1820), Oku Bunmei 奥文鳴 (d. 1813), Sakuma Sōen 佐久間草偃 (d. 1828), Shimokōbe Ikei 下河辺維恵 (end of 18th century), Shirai Naokata 白井直賢 (1756–1833), Takehara Shunsensai 竹原春泉斎 (fl. 1789–1817), Tanaka Totsugen 田中訥言 (1767–1823), Tosa Mitsutada 土佐光貞 (1738–1806), Tosa Mitsuyasu 土佐光安 (end of 18th century), and Yamaguchi Soken 山口素絢 (1759–1818).[83]

Unlike *Chikusai* or *Tōkaidō meishoki*, *Tōkaidō meisho zue* is not cast as a story with a humorous plot. The illustrations dominate this text. While the main subjects are images of travellers and other human figures, a large number of illustrations concentrate on the distinctive geography along the Tōkaidō. The illustrations of *Tōkaidō meisho zue* were used by a number of subsequent designers, such as Utagawa Hiroshige 歌川広重 (1797-1858), as source of inspiration for their own Tōkaidō images, as is discussed in the dissertation.

Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九 (1766–1831) is the author of the novel *Strolling Along the Tōkaidō* (*Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* 東海道中膝栗毛), published from 1802 to 1809 in nine instalments, all except the last illustrated by Ikku himself (*see Fig. 4*). Because of its success, a sequel followed in twelve instalments under the title *Strolling Continued* (*Zoku hizakurige* 続膝栗毛), issued from 1810 until 1822. Although mainly illustrated by Ikku, a number of other illustrators, such as Kitagawa Tsukimaro 喜多川月麿 (active c. 1800–30), Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760–1849) etc., were commissioned for the *kuchie* 口絵 (frontispieces).[84]

In the first series, the jokers Kitahachi 喜多八 and Yajirōbei 弥次良兵衛, or Kita and Yaji for short, start their journey in Edo, travel to Kyoto, erroneously via the shrines in Ise, and finally reach Osaka. Apparently, they had a homosexual partnership before the journey but turned to the opposite sex during the journey.[85] Their travel experiences are loosely connected and the reader is given a glimpse of the life along the Tōkaidō. The sequel recounts their journey along the Kisokaidō as well as pilgrimages to Konpira Shrine 金比羅 and to Miyajima 宮島.

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82 Reprinted in Kasuya 2001. Illustrations are also in Ōto 1976, figs. 60, 351, 424, 444, 466 and Yoshida 1976, figs. 199, 211, 215. According to May 1973, 101, it is the most comprehensive work with information on the Tōkaidō.

83 Hempel 1963, 116, lists Maruyama Ōkyo as Maruyama Shusui. Hempel mentions twenty-five artists, but lists only nineteen (Hempel 1963, 114–18). The new edition of the *Tōkaidō meisho zue* provides a list with thirty names (Kasuya 2001, vol. 1, 403), apparently without further research, as, e.g. Kuwagata Keisai 鍬形蕙斎 and Kitao Masayoshi 北尾政美 are the same person. Further contributors are (picture by the artist in Kasuya 2001 in parantheses; the pronunciation of names is sometimes based on assumption): Kashiwa Tomonori 栢友徳 (Vol. 1, 338–39), Kiran 鬼卵 (Vol. 2, 130–31), Suruyō Chōan 駿陽張安 (Vol. 2, 328–29, 384–85), So Eirin 蘇英林 (Vol. 3, 76–77), Chihaku 知白 (Vol. 3, 100), Kawa Chisei 川地勢 (Vol. 3, 188–89), Yamamoto Senken 山本専顕 (Vol. 3, 190–91), Kō Jakusetsu 高若拙 (Vol. 3, 250–51), Gamō Yōgyo 蒲生踊魚 (Vol. 3, 280–81).

84 Cf. *Ukiyoe jiten*, vol. 2, 231. Illustrations are in Ōto 1976, fig. 65; and Kodama 1977, fig. 380. In 1960, Thomas Satchell translated it into English (Jippensha 2001). *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* publication dates and illustrators (other than Ikku): vol. 1: 1802, Hosoda Eisui 細田栄水 (act. c.1790–23); vol. 2: 1803; vol. 3: 1804; vol. 4: 1805; vol. 5: 1806; vol. 6: 1807; vol. 7: 1808; vol. 8: 1809; origin (*hottan* 発端): 1814. Zoku hizakurige publication dates and illustrators (other than Ikku): vol. 1: 1810, Tsukimaro (*kuchie*); vol. 2: 1811, Hokusai (*kuchie*); vol. 3: 1812, Tsukimaro, Kitagawa Shikimaro 喜田川式麿 (act. c.1800–20) (kuchie); vol. 4: 1813, Tsukimaro; vol. 5: 1814, Tsukimaro, Shikimaro (*kuchie*); vol. 6: 1815, Shikimaro (*kuchie*); vol. 7–8: 1816, Kitagawa Utamaro II 二代喜多川歌麿 (d. 1831) (*kuchie*); vol. 9: 1819, Hokusai II (*kuchie*); vol. 10: 1820, Katsukawa Shuntei 勝川春亭 (1770–1820) (*kuchie*); vol. 11: 1821, Shuntei (*kuchie*); vol. 12: 1822, Ikku.

85 Cf. Jippensha 2001, 369.

The stories told in the *Hizakurige* consist mainly of funny dialogues and exaggerated comical acts.[86] It follows the *Tōkaidō meishoki* by using a humorous plot; however, the Tōkaidō itself is relegated further into the background.[87] It belongs, like *On Clubfeet Through Two Provinces* (*Nikoku renpeki dan* 二国連璧談) by Hezutsu Tōsaku 平秩東作 (1726-1789), to the genre of 'humorous books' (*kokkeibon* 滑稽本) and was not intended as a travel guidebook. The illustrations are either caricatures of the two protagonists without scenic elements, or pure landscape images. Because the *Hizakurige* was so popular, it fuelled the popular interest and subsequently the turnover of Tōkaidō series in general. Moreover, the Hizakurige was imitated by other writers, and the two protagonists became also a frequent motif in *ukiyoe*. A special type of series developed in which all images related to the *Hizakurige*.

Kanagaki Robun 假名垣魯文 (1829–1894) wrote a sequel titled *Strolling through the West* (*Seiyō dōchū hizakurige* 西洋道中膝栗毛). It continues the story of Kita and Yaji, who now travel throughout the world. Published from 1870 to 1876 in fifteen instalments, it is illustrated by Utagawa Hiroshige II 歌川広重 (1826–1869), Kawanabe Kyōsai 河鍋暁斎 (1831–1889), and Utagawa Yoshiiku 歌川芳幾 (1833–1904).

Fig. 4 . Jippensha Ikku (1766–1831). "A postboy offers Yaji and Kita a ride against money," from Strolling Along the Tōkaidō (Tōkaidōchū hizakurige), vol. 1. 1802. Published by Murataya Jirōbei. Woodblock-printed book. Ca. 18 × 27 cm. Waseda University Library

86 Cf. Shirane 2002, 732–33. For an in-depth analysis, see Kato 1990, 446.

87 Cf. May 1973, 101.

Erotic books

Erotic books (*enpon* 艶本), though officially prohibited, were tolerated by the administration and privately distributed during the Edo period. Well-known authors worked together with popular illustrators to create, in word and image, detailed erotic narrations usually published under a nom de plume. Erotic versions of classical novels and other well-known themes were extremely popular during the Tenpō era (1830–44).[88] The text itself was secondary and the main focus was on the illustrations. The amount of space allocated to text was considerably smaller than that for illustrations.

The first volume of the *Slippery Thighs in the Bedroom* (*Keichū hizasurige* 閨中膝磨毛), directly referring to the *Hizakurige*, was published in 1826.[89] By 1852, sixteen books 冊 in seven volumes 編 by various authors had been published. The first two are by Azumaotoko Itchō I 吾妻男一丁, a pseudonym of Santei Shunba 三亭春馬 (d. 1852). Volumes three and four are by Azumaotoko Itchō II, i.e. Jippensha Ikku II 十返舎一九, and volumes five to seven by Azumaotoko Itchō III, i.e. Baitei Kinga 梅亭金鵞 (1821–1893). The illustrator of the last two volumes is Maromaru 麿丸, i.e. Utagawa Kunisada's 歌川国貞 (1786-1865) student Utagawa Kunimaro 歌川国麿 (fl. 1845–1866). Like its literary predecessor *Hizakurige*, it tells the story of two protagonists, appropriately enough called Kujirōbei 九二郎兵衛 and Shitahachi 舌八.[90]

Utagawa Kunisada is responsible for the *koban*-size series *Images of Spring Along the Fifty-three Stations* (*Shunga gojūsan tsugi* 春画五十三次) that he created under the pseudonym Bukiyō Matahei 不器用亦平.[91] This title is given on the wrapper, whereas each design bears the title *The Fifty-three Stations* (*Gojūsan tsugi no uchi* 五十三次之内). Eighteen numbered *koban* are known, but as the highest number is station no. 31, Maisaka, and four *koban* fit on one block, the series may have been comprised of more designs. The images are not furnished with a narrative text of the sort that usually accompanies erotic illustrations. The stations along the Tōkaidō are indicated by a title cartouche and a small, elaborately decorated inset providing a scenic illustration of the station. According to an inscription in one of the designs, this series was released in the first month of 1835. Unlike other series made by Kunisada in the 1830s, the landscape insets here are not designed after Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō*, which was issued at around the same time.

The Fifty-three Stations of the Flower Street to the Capital (*Gojūsan tsugi—Hana no miyakoji* 五十三次花廼都路) was published in 1839 in three books.[92] The author is Renchian Shujin 恋痴庵主人, i.e. Tamenaga Shunsui 為永春水 (1790–1843), and the illustrations are also by Utagawa Kunisada, concealed as Fukiyō Matahei 婦喜用又平. The *Hana no miyakoji* lists a certain Kinseidō 金勢堂 as publisher, probably a pseudonym for Kinkōdō 金幸堂 (Kikuya Kōsaburō 菊屋幸三郎).[93]

The Travel Pillow Along the Fifty-three Stations (*Tabimakura gojūsan tsugi* 旅枕五十三次) by Koikawa Shōzan 恋川笑山 (1821–1907) was published during the 1850s.[94] It came

88 For a discussion of the beginning of erotic images in woodblock prints from the years 1700 to 1820, see Screech 1999.

89 Screech 1999, 270–72, mentions 1812 as date of origin. 1812 is according to the Japanese calendar the year Bunka 9, and therefore apparently a confusion with Bunsei 9, *i.e.* 1826.

90 The text is reprinted with remarks in Fujii 1952.

91 Cf. Hayashi 1989, 178–79, figs. 85–86; Screech 1999, figs. 139–40.

92 Screech 1999, 272, calls it *Irokurabe hana no miyakoji*.

93 Cf. Hayashi 1989, 138.

94 Also known as Tamanomon Shōzan 玉廼門笑山. He signed the *Tabimakura gojūsan tsugi* with the pseudonym Mizusawasanjin Tamanomon Shujin 水澤山人玉の門主人.

out in three volumes with a total of fifty-four multi-coloured pages, one for each of the Tōkaidō stations. Every page shows a typical citizen of Edo (*Edokko* 江戸っ子) copulating with a travelling woman, a female servant, or a country beauty.[95] The illustrations depict the couples in connection to a landscape referring to Hiroshige's *Hōeidō Tōkaidō*.[96]

Utagawa Kunimaro created the *Diary of Slippery Thighs* (*Hizasuri nikki* 膝寿里日記).[97] Published in 1855, the pages of the *Hizasuri nikki* have a tripartite structure. Like in the previous works, each image relates to one Tōkaidō station. The main part in the lower two thirds of each page depicts a sexual act accompanied by an explanatory text. In the upper part of each page is a group of matching cartouches. The title cartouche with the station's name in the right corner is surrounded by a landscape relating to the station. A poem accompanies each image. On the left side is a text cartouche providing prices of prostitutes as well as other practical information for travellers.

Topographical maps and books

In 1591, when Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598)) ordered the *daimyō* to submit summary cadastral records, early-modern mapmaking started in Japan.[98] These endeavours were continued under the Tokugawa shogunate, which shared material with Edo publishers. The latter subsequently issued commercial maps illustrated by popular artists. Scale and topographical fidelity were secondary to pictorial representations of mountains, temples, etc.[99]

The View of Travelling Along the Tōkaidō (*Tōkaidō michiyuki no zu* 東海道路行之圖) from 1654 is probably the oldest existing printed street map of the Tōkaidō. The map is not very accurate; however, practical information on distances and road charges is recorded.[100]

From 1668 dates the *Illustrated Map of the Kisoji Nakasendō and the Tōkaidō* (*Kisoji Nakasendō Tōkaidō ezu* 木曽路中山道東海道繪圖), which is the outcome of a road analysis conducted at the behest of the government. It is one of the first official road maps.[101]

In 1672, the *View of an Examination of both the Eastern Sea and Western Sea Roads* (*Tōkai Saikai ryōdō saiken zu* 東海西海両道細見圖) was published as a printed folding book (*oribon* 折本) in four hand-coloured sections. The first two sections are about the Tōkaidō and the last two sections are on the road from Osaka to Nagasaki. The map was drawn as a panoramic view from the seaside with only a few comments.[102]

The Proportional Illustrated Map of the Tōkaidō (*Tōkaidō bunken ezu* 東海道分間繪圖) from 1690 was one of the most popular printed road maps in the Edo period. Ochikochi Dōin 遠近道印 (born 1628) presumably created this map; it was illustrated by Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣 (1618–1694) and published by Hangiya Shichirōbei 板木屋七郎兵衛.[103] Printed as an *oribon* in five quires (*jō* 帖), it had text cartouches to identify the stations, lists of road fees and information on teahouses, temples, and shrines etc. Geographical elements such as mountains,

95 Cf. Screech 1999, 272.

96 Cf. Sano 1989, 97–176.

97 Reprinted in Higashiōji 1984. Screech 1999, 272, erroneously mentions Utamaro II as illustrator. Cf. Traganou 2004, 181–83.

98 Cf. Berry 2006, 84.

99 Cf. Kornicki 1998, 60–61.

100 Cf. Traganou 2004, 31. A copy of the map is in the Kobe City Museum.

101 Cf. Traganou 2004, 29. A copy of the map is in the National Diet Library, illustrated in Ōto 1976, fig. 12.

102 Cf. Spinks 1954, 16–17.

103 Traganou 2004, 231, calls him "Ichikochi," stating that it is not known who this exactly is. The map is illustrated in Toyohashishi Bijutsu Hakubutsukan, ed. 2001, 146–49.

lakes, and rivers are also included with small compass-like illustrations to assist travellers in their orientation on the road. The desirability of this road map lies, above all, in its accuracy and the illustrations by Moronobu.[104]

In 1806, the *Proportional Linear Illustrated Map of the Tōkaidō* (*Tōkaidō bunken nobe ezu* 東海道分間延繪圖) was published, a hand-coloured official road map created for administrative purposes. This map belongs to a set encompassing the five national highways, *Proportional Linear Illustrated Map of the Five Highways* (*Gokaidō bunken nobe ezu* 五街道分間延繪圖), which was created in the Kansei era (1789–1801). As wells as inns and temples, mile markers, signposts (*dōhyō*), bridges, and notice boards (*kōsatsu* 高札) are noted.[105] The Tōkaidō appears disproportionate to the bridges and rivers in this topographical map. The map was used by high-ranking officials as a visual aid for discussing geographical and structural characteristics that were of political and military importance.[106]

Game boards

Sugoroku is a game of dice, originally from India, that came via China to Japan. It is played by two or more players, and may be compared to the English 'Snakes and Ladders' or the Dutch game of 'Ganzenbord.'[107] The so-called *e-sugoroku* 絵双六 (picture board game) was a popular pastime in the Edo period. Game boards illustrating the five national highways are called *dōchū sugoroku* 道中双六. The majority of *dōchū sugoroku* refer to the Tōkaidō, with Nihonbashi as the starting point of the game. The course of the game brings the player in touch with the various sightseeing spots and temples along the Tōkaidō, and the game ends either in Kyoto or in Osaka. The aim of the game is to cover the distance by throwing the dice and reaching the destination before the opposition. The route is the same for both players, resulting in a footrace against each other. A road was therefore just the right motif for such a game.

Fig. 5 Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858). Pilgrimage to Ise and Journey to Kyoto at a Glance Game of Dice (Sangū jōkyō dōchū ichiran sugoroku 参宮上京道中一覧雙六*). XI/1857. Published by Tsutaya Kichizō. Color woodcut. Ca. 72 × 72 cm. Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum of Waseda University*

All Tōkaidō *sugoroku* list the stations along the road. In general, there are two styles of composition. The first and more unusual style is a homogenous bird's-eye view of the Tōkaidō, like a topographical map. Cartouches indicate the important stations for the game. The starting point and the destination are placed in

104 For a detailed discussion of this map and later copies, see Traganou 2004, 36–38. A copy of the map is in the Tokyo National Museum, illustrated in Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 2001, fig. 16; Ōto 1976, fig. 13, 430–32; and Yoshida 1976, fig. 189.

105 A copy of the map is in the Tokyo National Museum, illustrated in Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 2001, fig. 9; Toyohashishi Bijutsu Hakubutsukan, ed. 2001, 134–41; Ōto 1976, figs. 80, 87, 97, 104, 110, 301, 305, 308, 347, 384; Kodama 1977, figs. 11, 19, 122, 135, 204, 205, 237, 265, 305, 360; and Yoshida 1976, fig. 193.

106 For a detailed examination of this map, see Traganou 2004, 39–41.

107 For a brief overview, see Yamamoto 2006. For further details, see Takahashi 1980, and Katō 2002.

opposite corners. In the second style, independent images of the stations are strung together in a spiral with the destination located in the centre of the sugoroku. The images sometimes refer to illustrations in books or motifs from ukiyoe series. The advantage of this composition is the possibility to emphasize local landmarks, which are difficult to place in a homogenous map. The focus of the images sometimes alternates between landscape depictions and, for example, local specialties.

More than eighty different board games with the Tōkaidō as motif are known. While Tōkaidō *ukiyoe* series came into existence at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the first Tōkaidō *sugoroku* date from the second half of the eighteenth century.[108] Like most popular ukiyoe series, however, the majority dates from the 1850s.

The earliest Tōkaidō *sugoroku* for which the designer is known is believed to be the *Examination of the Tōkaidō* (*Tōkaidō saiken sugoroku* 東海道細見雙六) by Kitao Shigemasa 北尾重政 (1739–1820). Measuring c. 60 cm × 101 cm, it was published by Iseya Kinbei 伊勢屋金兵衛 in 1775.[109] The game starts in the lower right corner at Nihonbashi in Edo and ends in the centre in Kyoto. The sequence of images focuses on the scenery around the stations that the players walk through. Human figures are secondary and miniaturized. The stations are clearly separated and the images face outward.

Dated the eleventh month, 1857 is the *Pilgrimage to Ise and Journey to Kyoto at a Glance* (*Sangū jōkyō dōchū ichiran sugoroku* 参宮上京道中一覧雙六) by Hiroshige. It was published by Tsutaya Kichizō 蔦屋吉蔵 as six connected *ōban*-size prints with a total size of c. 72 cm × 72 cm (*see Fig. 5*).[110] This is the last of approximately eleven Tōkaidō *sugoroku* by Hiroshige.[111] The title refers to the connection of two different routes in one game. The Tōkaidō from Edo to Kyoto as well as the road to Ise, a branch leading away from the Tōkaidō at the station Yokkaichi, are both joined together in this game board. Because of the panorama-like composition of this map, both the inland route of the Tōkaidō and the coastal road to Ise are placed side by side.

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108 Cf. Spinks 1954, 19–20.

109 Illustrated in Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 2001, fig. 123.

110 Illustrated in Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 2001, fig. 141.

111 Keyes 1982, 81, lists nine different Tōkaidō *sugoroku*, without the one mentioned here and without *Fifty-three Stations Along the Tōkaidō*—Travel Game of Dice with Poems (*Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi—Haikai dōchū sugoroku* 東海 道五十三次—俳諧道中雙六).

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吉田光邦『東海道・三巻』(江戸時代図誌16)筑摩書房

Jonah on the Tōkaidō

Adriana Hidding

A voyage along the *Tōkaidō* in 2007 by Hayashi Gōhei 林剛平 (1985), in a self-made vehicle, is a beautiful illustration of how this route can still speak to the imagination. The vehicle that Hayashi, an aspiring wood architect, named *Kujira Apaato* (Whale Apartment) looks somewhat like a mixture between a snail and an organic spaceship; it consists of a unicycle placed in front of a framework on which a sphere made out of wood and paper rests.

A test drive at Kyoto University:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bnv5yXdooRA&feature=player_embedded

What is behind this unusual vehicle?

The project started with the wooden skeleton of a sphere that Hayashi had produced during a course at the Forestry Department of Kyoto University. After completing the skeleton he had the feeling that the structure was far from being finished, and had the vision of a moveable tearoom. The idea of a sphere-shaped moveable tearoom caught on. Hayashi found manufacturers of Japanese paper and *tatami* willing to assist him. He also found a number of sponsors.

When Hayashi had finished his water resistant vehicle, he set out on his journey. This was in June 2007. The first part of his journey Hayashi could cycle, but when his unicycle broke down he had to use his vehicle as a rickshaw. Just like the rainy season this mishap had its advantage. By slowing down his speed Hayashi got more into contact with local people, and the rainy season gave him plenty of opportunity to rest his body and contemplate inside his whale. Around forty days after his start he got to Tokyo.

The Interior of the Tea Room

1. I was curious about the name of your vehicle: Whale Apartment. Does it have anything to do with the story of Jonah from the Bible?

The first story I knew was from a picture book of Pinocchio that I saw when I was in kindergarten: Pinocchio is swallowed by a whale. I was fascinated by the biblical story in which Jonah has to undergo being swallowed by a whale and having to spend three days and three nights inside of it.

2. What meaning did you find in your voyage with the Whale Apartment?

The meaning of the project changed while it was on the road. Even now I find new meanings when

I think back. Before departure it was about an adventure in an unknown world. It was an experiment to be on my own with the thing I had made; to meet people and use architecture to get into a dialogue. I was thinking about architecture as a medium, but actually I did not have enough time to think about it.

3. Does the *Tōkaidō* have a special meaning to you?

The place were I was born, the town I grew up in, the school I went to, and place of my present studies, Kyoto, are all along the *Tōkaidō*. To walk past all these separate places and connect them was a natural thought.

And then there is the historical aspect. To hike this route is facing the present automobile society. To evade cars at congested places I set out to walk at four in the morning. In places were development has proceeded, I felt that the only spot where you find the shade of trees is around temples and shrines. It made me feel the importance of a person like Minakata Kumagusu 南方熊楠(1867-1941) who campaigned for the protection of natural landscapes and the relation between nature and humans.

Information about Hayashi`s current project, a pyramid shaped *torii*.
http://kumanobiotope.blogspot.com/
Article in the *Kyōto Shinbun* about Hayashi`s Torii in the garden of the Kumano dormitory.
http://www.kyoto-np.co.jp/education/article/20100802000154

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Luc Cuyvers

Tōkaidō
- de weg van Tokyo naar Kyoto -

Ruim 250 jaar lang was het Japans en waarschijnlijk 's werelds drukste weg. Luc Cuyvers ging kijken om te zien wat er van overbleef.

De Tōkaidō, of Oostelijke Zeeweg, verbond Edo, het huidige Tokyo, met Kyoto over een afstand van bijna 500 kilometer. Vanuit Edo werd het land bestuurd door het shogunaat – een militaire dictatuur, die het land van begin 17de tot midden 19de eeuw nauwlettend controleerde en afgesloten hield van de buitenwereld. In Kyoto hield de keizer zijn hof. Zo verbond de Tōkaidō het wereldlijke centrum van het land met zijn spirituele tegenhanger. Het was ongetwijfeld de belangrijkste weg van het land; een regelrechte slagader van het Japanse rijk.

De Tōkaidō was onderverdeeld in 53 officiële pleisterplaatsen, waar reizigers konden eten, slapen, vervoer regelen, voorraden aankopen of vertier zoeken. De verschillende pleisterplaatsen ontwikkelden zich gaandeweg tot echte bezienswaardigheden, die met elkaar concurreerden om zoveel mogelijk reizigers aan te trekken. Bij een reis langs de Tōkaidō behoorden souvenirs, waaronder prenten die, net als een ansichtkaart vandaag, lieten zien waar de mensen geweest waren. Ze toonden landschappen en tempels, maar ook vaak realistische taferelen van het dagelijkse leven langs de Tōkaidō.

Wellicht de bekendste reeks Tōkaidō prenten werd door de in Edo geboren kunstenaar Andō Hiroshige (1797 – 1858) gemaakt. Ze bestaat uit 55 prenten: één voor elke pleisterplaats, en één voor zowel het vertrek- als het eindpunt van de route. *Tōkaidō – De Weg van Tokyo naar Kyoto* volgt in de voetsporen van Hiroshige om te zien wat er nog van zijn indrukken overblijft. Gaandeweg wordt het duidelijk dat dat meer is dan gedacht. Hoewel niet noodzakelijk van de weg of van het landschap...

De programma makers deden de reis net zoals vroeger: 18 dagen van Tokyo naar Kyoto.

Programma 1 Dag 1: Tokyo – Yokohama
De aankoop van een Japanse prent zet ons aan het speuren. Wat stelt ze voor? Wie heeft ze gemaakt? Wie en waar zijn de mensen op de prent? Enkele maanden later zijn we onderweg: op zoek naar de juiste locatie, en veel meer...

Programma 2 Dag 2 - 3: Yokohama – Odawara
We verlaten de megapolis Tokyo – Yokohama en trekken langs de kust richting het gebergte van Hakone. Onderweg komen we meer te weten over wonen en ziek zijn in Japan, en wonen we een gekende en toch vreemde huwelijksceremonie bij.

Programma 3 Dag 4 - 5: Yumoto – Yoshiwara
We trekken de bergen in, naar het hoogste punt van de Tōkaidō: de Hakone-pas, en iets verderop de gevreesde meldingspost, waar vroeger elke reiziger uiterst nauwkeurig werd gecontroleerd door het shogunaat. Dan reizen we verder richting kust, in de schaduw van de Fuji, die zich echter verscholen houdt.

Programma 4 Dag 6 – 7: Fuji City – Mariko
We beginnen nu te beseffen dat er ook op het platteland vrij weinig over is gebleven van wat Hiroshige ooit zag. Zelfs het landschap is vaak ingrijpend veranderd. Gelukkig troont de Fuji, nu in volle pracht, onveranderd boven dit alles uit.

Programma 5 Dag 8 – 9: Okabe - Kakegawa
Dag 8 begint in het slaperige Okabe: we volgen enkele jongeren op hun dagelijkse tocht langs de oude Tōkaidō naar school. Daarna kronkelt de oude weg zich meer landinwaarts, verder weg van de monding van de gevreesde rivier de Ōi en weer de bergen in, richting Kakegawa.

Programma 6 Dag 10 – 11: Kakegawa – Futagawa
In de schaduw van het kasteel van Kakegawa ligt het graf van Gijsbert Hemmij, opperkoopman

van de Nederlandse vesting in Nagasaki van 1792 tot 1798. We reizen verder en komen aan in Hamamatsu, een van Japans talrijke industriële centra: een uitstekende plaats om na te gaan hoe het er op het werk aan toegaat.

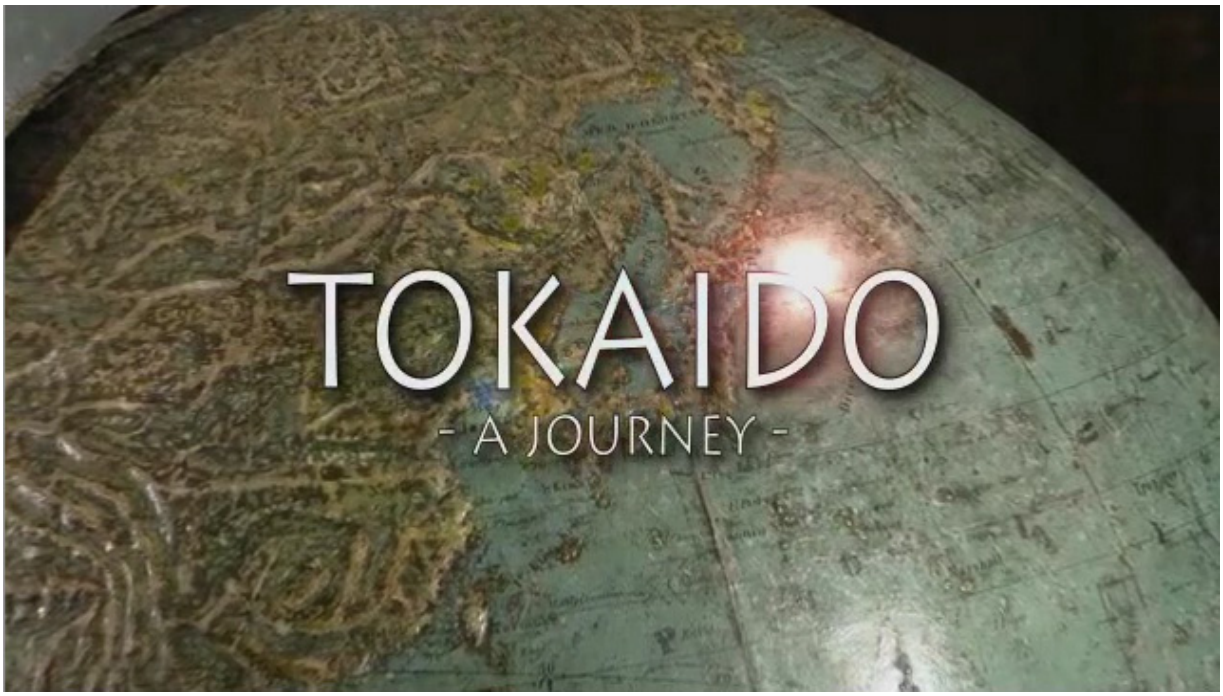
Programma 7 Dag 12 – 13: Toyohashi - Okazaki
We reizen door de zwaar geïndustrialiseerde prefectuur Aichi. Gelukkig kronkelt de Oude Tōkaidō zich regelmatig weg van de drukte, door slaperige dorpjes als Goyu en Akasaka. Hier verblijven we in een herberg die Hiroshige ook bezocht. Net als hij observeren we wat er onderweg gebeurt.

Programma 8 Dag 14 – 15: Chiriyu – Yokkaichi
Een autoverkoper brengt ons van Chiriyu tot in de buurt van Nagoya, waar we de prachtige Atsuta-schrijn bezoeken, net op het moment dat alle families uit de buurt dat ook lijken te doen. Van Nagoya gaat het per boot richting Kuwana en Yokkaichi, een vroegere Tōkaidō pleisterplaats die veel te lijden kreeg.

Programma 9 Dag 16 - 17: Ishiyakushi – Ishibe
Van het rustige Ishiyakushi trekken we over de Suzuka-pas door het meest ongerepte deel van de vroegere Tōkaidō. Maar al snel herinnert het drukker wordende verkeer ons dat we onze eindbestemming naderen.

Programma 10 Dag 18 - 19: Kusatsu – Kyoto – Tokyo
De voorlaatste reisdag brengt ons van Kusatsu en Ōtsu, hoofdstad van de prefectuur Shiga, naar onze eindbestemming: Kyoto—de enige stad op onze reisweg die de oorlog ongeschonden liet. Dan volgt de reis terug naar het vertrekpunt. Deze keer wel heel wat sneller dan voordien, maar dan wel zonder de ervaringen die het reistempo van weleer ons gaf.

De ‘Eerste Dag’ kan worden bekeken door op de link hieronder te klikken. De volledige serie is op DVD te koop in het SieboldHuis in Leiden.
http://magazine.sieboldhuis.org/artikel.php?code=33&p=3



Tōkaidō

- a Journey -

Tōkaidō is a television series about a road in Japan, or rather two roads: an old one -- once Japan's most important road -- and a new one, paved on top of it. Of course, the film is not merely about these roads; it is about what happened or happens along them, intertwining two road trips: a past one and a contemporary one. The first puts us in the company of Japanese artists Andō Hiroshige, who travelled the Tōkaidō in the early 1830s. In the second we follow in his footsteps to figure out what remains of what he saw. It is a simple concept, but it goes far beyond simply comparing past and present. Understanding Japan requires a trip into its past, and one could do far worse than pick the Tōkaidō for that excursion. With Hiroshige we also obtain a terrific guide. He not only made the trip at a fascinating time, he also left a splendid artistic impression of his trip, documenting what he saw and experienced along the way.

The Road

The Tōkaidō, or Eastern Sea Road, linked Edo, today's Tokyo, with Kyoto more than 300 miles further west. Edo was Japan's seat of power. Kyoto, in contrast, was the residence of the Emperor. As such the Tōkaidō connected the country's political capital with its spiritual counterpart. For much of Japanese history, it was the country's busiest road: a veritable artery that connected its heart with its spirit.

Early in the seventeenth century, the Tokugawa Shogunate established fifty-three official post stations along the entire length of the Tōkaidō. There travellers could find something to eat or a place to sleep, buy supplies, arrange for transport or simply have fun. The Tōkaidō and its fifty-three post stations soon became a source of inspiration for artists, who produced countless prints. They showed landscapes and temples, but often also realistic portrayals of life along the road. Much like a postcard today, they were eagerly snapped up by travellers who wanted to show the people back home where they had been.

Though it has been paved many times over, much of the Old Tōkaidō still exists, in no small part because there were so many temples and shrines located along it. Since these were often preserved during Japan's twentieth-century construction boom, the old road was preserved along with them. What remains is half-forgotten, often meandering through small-town Japan and hardly representative of its past role. But the road remains littered with the remains and remnants of that role, each one of which has a story to tell.

And so the Old Tōkaidō provides a perfect itinerary for a fascinating voyage, slicing through two very different Japans: one, during the waning days of the Shogunate, still isolated from the rest of the world; the other, one of the leading economic powers of the world. But modern Japan can never be understood unless one travels the earlier road...

The Artist

Although he is one of Japan's most famous artists, we know relatively little about Andō Hiroshige (1797 - 1858), because most of his notes and sketches were destroyed during the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923. But what remains reveals him as a very interesting man: he is talented, intriguing, strong-minded and occasionally cynical, lives in fascinating times, and leads an interesting life.

Tradition holds that Hiroshige travelled the Tōkaidō in 1832 with a detachment of the Edo fire brigade that had the duty of escorting a horse -- a gift from the Shogun -- to the Emperor. Along the way he sketched. The result of this work was published a few years later and became an immediate success. Known as *The Fifty Three Stations of the Tōkaidō*, it remains a masterpiece of Japanese art. Spurred on by publishers, Hiroshige designed several more Tōkaidō series in

subsequent years. Though they consolidated his fame and reputation, none of them equalled the mastery and originality he displayed in the original series.

Japan today seems far removed from the country depicted in Hiroshige's work. Yet in spite of the obvious changes, much of what he depicted is still very much part of Japanese life, and therefore essential to understanding the country and its people.

The Series

At a first glance, Tōkaidō appears to be a relatively simple concept. The series retraces Hiroshige's steps along the old Tōkaidō, seeks out the locations of his prints and compares what was then with what is now. But behind this simple front is more than meets the eye.

The voyage turns into a device that provides the backbone for something considerably more complex. Tōkaidō is not just a film series about an artist and his impressions of a time long gone; it is a series about a country and its people, and how both were indelibly shaped by the times that Hiroshige documented so vividly.

The result, at first sight, is an enjoyable, leisurely-paced set of films, which can be enjoyed for just that reason. But anyone expecting more will be pleased to discover many layers hidden beneath this deceivingly simple surface. And so the Old Tōkaidō continues to link people. Only it doesn't really do so between different places as much as it does between different times.

The first issue instalment of our television series can be watched by following the link below. A DVD of the complete series can be obtained at the SieboldHuis in Leiden.
http://magazine.sieboldhuis.org/artikel.php?code=33&p=3

Long is the Road

Calligraphy by Arthur Witteveen

The calligraphy reads '*dō en*' or '*michi tōshi*,' which means 'long is the road.' The idea is that it reflects the length of the Tōkaidō, the main road of the Island of Honshū, constructed at the time of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867). From Edo, the seat of the Shogun, it leads the traveller along the Pacific coast, circles halfway around the Bay of Ise, and then continues west through mountainous country to lake Biwa, reaching its end in Kyoto, residence of the Emperor. The scenery on the way is magnificent and picturesque: magnificent, because of the beautiful mountains, at some places descending straight into the ocean, the wooded country hiding temples and holy shrines like the one in Ise, dedicated to the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, and the waters, quiet or unruly, of the ocean, the lakes and cascading streams; and picturesque, because of the boundless multitude of travellers on the road and the busy hustle of street life in the stations and the cities. It is all to be seen in the series of exquisite woodblock prints 'The Fifty-three Stages of the Tōkaidō' by the famous master Hiroshige (1797-1858).

The calligraphy might also be read as 'long is the Way,' referring to the spiritual road one has to follow in life. In this sense it would seamlessly fit into the Buddhist worldview with Amithaba's Western Paradise as a place of salvation, which we find reflected in the farewell poem Hiroshige wrote on his deathbed:

I leave my brush in the East
And set forth on my journey
I shall see the famous places in the Western Land.

(Source: Kondō Ichitarō, 'Hiroshige's Fifty-Three Stages of the Tokaido' (English adaptation by Charles S. Terry), in: *The Fifty-Three Stages of the Tokaido by Hiroshige*. Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1965, pp. 3-7)

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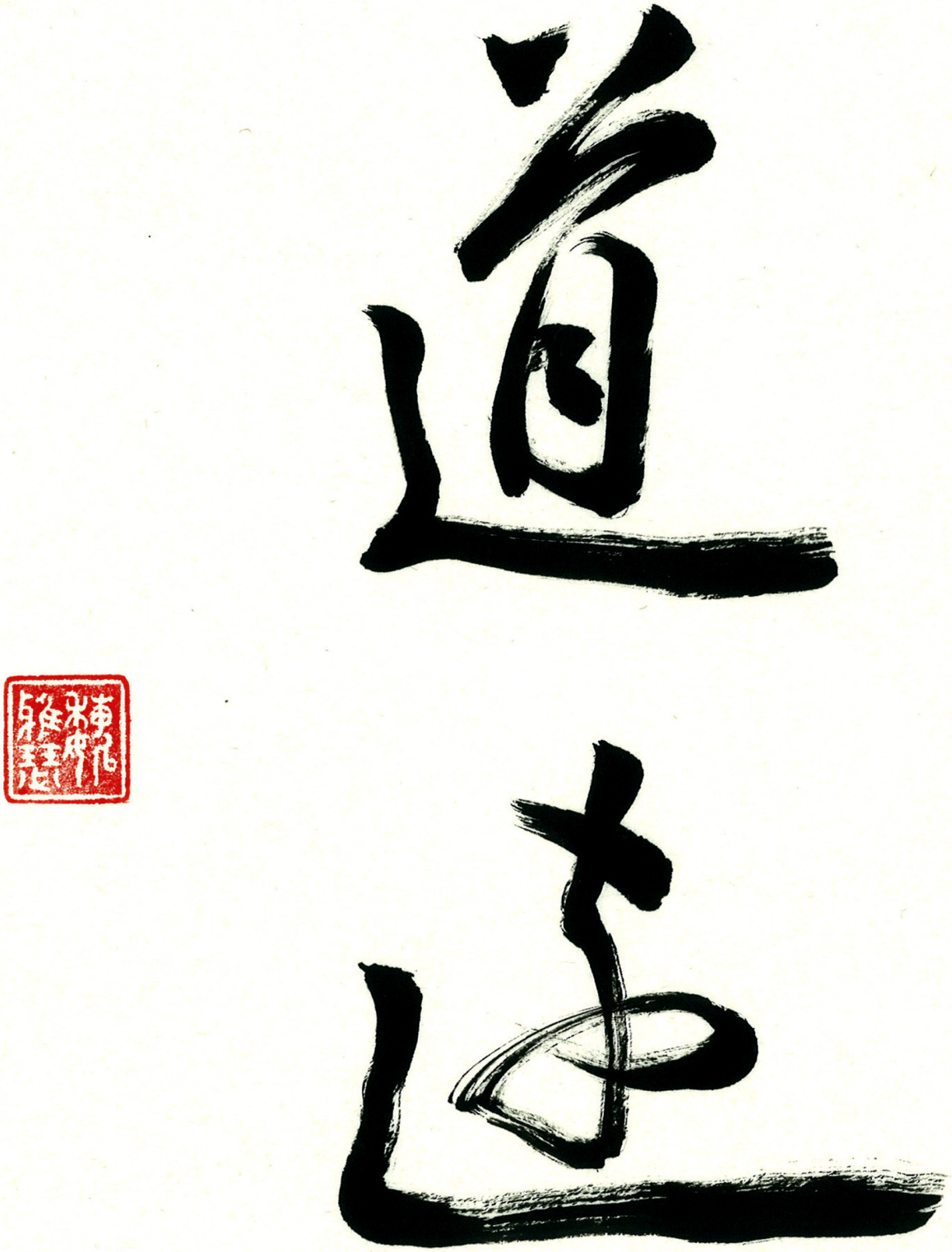

Hiroshige's View of Hakone Mountains on the Tōkaidō

Matthi Forrer

Sometime in the early 1800s, Jippensha Ikku (1765-1831) must have approached several publishers, hoping to find one of them willing to consider and publish some wild idea for a novel he had, that would relate the adventures of Kita and Yaji, two Edoites travelling the Tōkaidō Road. The deal was struck with Murataya Jirōbei and it is unlikely he ever regretted his decision to say 'yes' to Ikku's manuscript – or maybe just to a summary outline; we really do not know how such things worked at the time. Ikku had begun to establish himself as one of Edo's major writers of popular fiction only in Kansei 7 (1795), when the influential publisher Tsutaya Jūsaburō published his *Shingaku tokeigusa* (*Draft for the Ethics of Clocks*), said to be based on a plot which was provided by Ishikawa Masamochi, better known as Rokujuen. Surprisingly, this *kibyōshi* novel was illustrated by Ikku himself, for Tsutaya usually preferred professional illustrators, such as Torii Kiyomitsu, Kitao Shigemasa, Kitao Masanobu – another double-talent, also known as Santō Kyōden – Kitao Masayoshi, or Eishōsai Chōki, all of whom worked for Tsutaya in the same year 1795. Ikku even provided the illustrations to two more *kibyōshi* novels he published with Tsutaya that year and would maintain this exceptional position, providing the illustrations to over 90% of his own novels. Known in English as *Footing It Along the*

1. Utagawa Hiroshige, View at Hakone, from the series The Fifty-three Stations of the Tokaido, 1833. (The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago)

Tokaido and translated as *A Shank's Mare* (by Thomas Satchell, 1929, 1960), the *Ukiyo dōchū hizakurige*, as the novel was titled in the early 1800s, only later to become commonly known as the *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige*, was also illustrated by himself in simple line illustrations. When its first instalment came out in 1802, it was an immediate success and Ikku was kept busy writing sequels until well into the 1820s.

2. Yashima Gakutei, View at Hakone, plate from the album Ichirō's Album of Pictures, 1823. (National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden)

Quite understandably, the immense popularity of the novel also aroused interest in colour pictures of Tōkaidō scenes, and Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) almost immediately catered for thisdemand, not even taking the time to travel the road from Edo to Kyoto himself. Shortly after each other, he designed no less than seven series of views of the Tōkaidō stations, one in the upright *chūban* format and probably published by Iseya Rihei, two in the upright *koban* format, and four in the horizontal *koban* format, one of which was published by Iseya Rihei, one by Yoshinoya Tokujirō, and one commissioned by a club of *kyōka* poets; this last series was reprinted numerous times without the poetry. They all came out many years before Hokusai himself first travelled the road, which he did in 1817, and as a consequence they mostly offer scenes at roadside restaurants, inns, travellers taking a pause, etc. – the scenery hardly mattered yet.

This was still hardly different when Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858) first took up the theme of the Tōkaidō, in the early 1830s. Even though he seemed to focus on the landscape that he, as tradition has it, had sketched along the way when joining an envoy who was to deliver a horse thatthe shogun presented to the emperor – it must be doubted whether he actually travelled much beyond station ten of the total of fifty-three stations. In fact, even his plate for one of the first stations after leaving the city of Edo, Kanagawa, seems to be a straightforward adaptation after a plate in the invaluable *Tōkaidō meisho zue* (*Famous Places Along the Tokaido Illustrated*), a popular guidebook in six volumes compiled by Akisato Shoseki, which was first published in 1797 by Maekawa Rokuzaemon and illustrated by such designers as Kitao Masayoshi (1764-1824) and Takehara Shunsensai. In the remainder of Hiroshige's best-known series, the *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi no uchi* (*The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō*), a series of fifty-five *ōban* plates published by Takenouchi Magohachi of the firm of Hoeidō, his approach was not very different. He freely borrowed from the Tōkaidō guidebook as well as from various other sources.

And yet, we also notice a measure of creativity on his part. In this respect, the plate for the station of Hakone in Sagami Province presents a good example. Subtitled *Kosui no zu* (*View of the Lake*, i.e. Lake Ashi or Ashi *no umi*), it shows a daimyo's procession climbing a steep mountain road that leads past Mount Futago, with the lake to its left. The view and composition in this case appear to be based on a design by Yashima Gakutei in his *Ichirō gafu* (*Ichirō's*

3. A small box with a drawer, yosegi saiku work from the Hakone region, bought by Jan Cock Blomhoff during the court journey of 1822. (National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden)

Picture Album), which appeared in 1823 and was a reprint, minus the poetry, of a kyōkabon issued earlier as the Sansui kikan kyōkashū (Collection of Kyōka Poetry on Remarkable Landscapes; 1820). In the distance is a view of Mount Fuji, here looking like a dwarf compared to Futagoyama in the foreground. Most conspicuous are the variously coloured areas on the mountain slope, as if the mountain would consist of various kinds of stone and rock formations – there are patches of yellow ochre, various greens, grey, brown and even blue. Even in the more distant hills so characteristic of the Hakone region, the grey, brown and blue reappear as if this site offers a most remarkable scenery – as it really does, especially when not shrouded in mist.

Most likely, the explanation for the variety of colours seen on the mountain slopes in Hiroshige's print has its origin in the marquetry work (*yosegi saiku*) for which the Hakone region was then famous. Taking advantage of the large variety of trees in the region, there developed a specialized craft of making patterns in various kinds of variously coloured wood that were made into thin slices and pasted onto simple wooden boxes of all kinds. In addition, also small cabinets, picnic sets and even writing desks were decorated in the same technique. That this was a recent development, probably originating in the late Bunka and early Bunsei periods (1810s-20s), can be inferred from the circumstance that *yosegi saiku* work is not yet mentioned in the 1797 Tōkaidō guidebook. That only devotes attention to the shops of turnery work (*hikimono saiku*) and the turned dolls, for which the village of Yumoto was then especially famous. Understandably, this was still so when also Kita and Yaji did some shopping in Yumoto:

> At Yumoto, on both sides of the road there are very fine buildings, with two or three handsome girls before each shop selling the turned woodware for which the place is noted.
>
> Kita went along peeping into every shop. 'It's like an advertisement of face-powder,' he said. 'All these girls have their faces and their hands powdered up.' 'Shall we buy something?' suggested Yaji.
>
> And so Yaji ended up paying four hundred coppers for a tobacco-box with an initial asked price of only three hundred. 'I don't regret it,' said Yaji. 'That girl was awfully taken with me.' (*A Shank's Mare*, pp. 47f.)

Dr. Matthi Forrer studied Asian Art at the University of Amsterdam and Japanology in Leiden. He works at the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden as curator of the Japanese department. He took his PhD in 1985 with a dissertation on the Nagoya bookseller Eirakuya Tōshirō, and was appointed professor extraordinary at the University of Leiden in 2002. He has an acknowledged authority on Japanese prints and printed books of the Edo Period, and has published widely about Japanese prints and the Leiden collections.

Private Steamship in Diplomatic Waters

Alice C. Ravensberg

This article discusses the delivery of a small steamship to Japan by a private trader from Batavia. This delivery took place in 1854, one year after the American naval squadron had visited Edo and one year after the Japanese authorities had requested the Dutch factory to deliver a frigate and a steam corvette. As will be discussed hereafter, it proved to be difficult for the Netherlands to comply with this request, but it gave the private trader the incentive to bring a steamship.

Starting from 1641 the Dutch had traded with Japan on Deshima. The trade consisted of the so-called *Komps* trade and the *Kambang* trade. The Komps trade was originally the trade of the United East-Indian Company (VOC) whereas the Kambang trade or private trade originated from the explicit desire of Japan to offer its petty merchants an opportunity to take part in the trade. For the present story it is important to know that from 1835 to 1855 the Kambang trade was leased to a private merchant from Batavia, initially for the period of one year, later for a period of four years. There are two parts to the Kambang trade; one based on the Japanese demands, the other based on what the merchant hoped would be profitable. Different goods were traded, such as medicines, cotton textiles, glass and pottery and also technical appliances and books. By contract, the trader was allowed to export up to a yearly amount of 50,000 guilders.[1] He was obliged to submit his proposed consignment note for approval to the *Directie der Producten en Civiele Magazijnen* (Service of Products and Civil Supplies) in Batavia. This was to protect the revenues of Komps trade.

The last *Opperhoofd* or chief of Deshima was Janus Henricus Donker Curtius (1813-1879), a former lawyer. He was appointed in 1852 because of his diplomatic skills rather than his commercial knowledge.[2] In correspondence with the Governor-General Donker Curtius discussed ways to improve the profitability of trade with Japan, at the same time he explained the manner in which the Kambang trade took place in Japan.[3] Donker Curtius noted that, upon arrival in Japan the goods were exhibited and drawings thereof were sent around to solicit interest. Then they were auctioned off by the *Keizerlijke Geldkamer* (Imperial Money Chamber). The trader could refuse an offer if he considered it too low. In this way he achieved a decent profit, which he could increase even more with the merchandise he purchased to export to Batavia. Unsold goods had to be returned to Batavia on the same ship. Furthermore the trader was obliged to take part in providing the so-called *eisch- en geschenkgoederen*, lists of goods that were requested by the Shogun and other high members of the Japanese government.

1 Van der Chijs, *Neêrlands streven tot openstelling van Japan voor de wereldhandel. Uit officiëele, grootendeels onuitgegeven bescheiden toegelicht* (Amsterdam, 1867), p. 404-7, 412-413.

2 M. Kogure, *National Prestige and Economic Interest. Dutch Diplomacy towards Japan 1850-1863* (Maastricht, 2008), p. 101-104. See also H.J. Moeshart, *Een miskend geneesheer. Dr. J.K. van den Broek en de overdracht van westerse technologie in Japan 1853-1857* (Amsterdam, 2003). p. 30-34.

3 National Archief (NL-HaNA), Den Haag, Factorij Hirado en Deshima, 1.04.21, inv. nr. 1700. (Draft dated 17 augustus 1854)

In the year 1867, A.J. van der Chijs (1831-1905) published a book about Dutch trade relations with Japan. In this book he briefly mentions a private trader who sold a small steamship a year before the navy vessel *Soembing* was transferred to Japan on behalf of the Dutch government. In the same year two gentlemen travelled by train from Amsterdam to Haarlem. They engaged in a conversation about this book, which had just been published, and parted again on arrival. The next day, one of the gentlemen sent a letter of thanks in which he reiterated his delight in their conversation. Moreover, he expressed his intention to annotate his copy of the book with the identity of the private trader. The other gentleman responded in the same friendly manner and again described the events taking place in the summer of 1854 in Japan:

> *'One could have said about the iron steamship, being the first in Japan, how enthusiastic the Japanese were when they learned, upon arrival of the ship the Sara Lydia (Capt. B. van der Tak), that on board of this ship was present the iron steamer about which I had spoken with them in 1853, how I got rushed upon, day by day, with urgent pleas to assemble the ship swiftly, how the Japanese came from all over the country to make drawings of the steam engine in its smallest details, even people sent for the purpose from Iedo to Deshima by the Japanese government. With what urgency I was asked, when the assembly, due to inadequate tools, took a bit long, even by the governors of Nagasaki, to launch the little ship shortly, and finally that the governors almost determined the day that this very launching was scheduled.'*[4]

The first gentleman was a certain Mr. Scheltema.[5] For this account, he remains a fellow passenger met in a chance encounter on a train. The other, the author of the letter quoted above, was J.R. Lange (1813-1874). He was the private trader who held the lease of the Kambang trade in 1854 (*See fig. 1*).

Who was this Mr Lange and what is additionally known about him? What made him decide to import a small steamship into Japan in that year? And finally, what further facts can be gleaned about this ship? This article will try to answer these questions.

Fig 1. Johannes Robertus Lange ca 1865.

Biography

J.R. Lange's career is recorded both in the *Stamboek Burgerlijke Ambtenaren*, the official register of the civil service, and in the *Almanak en Naamregister voor Nederlandsch-Indië.* More importantly, the Lange family kindly gave permission to use the family archive. This family now

4 Family archive of the Lange family, Den Haag, 29 september 1867.

5 Further information about this person is lacking.

consists of an Italian and a Dutch branch, both in possession of items of his correspondence.[6]

Johannes Robertus Lange was the son of Jacobus Robertus Lange and Maria Alijda Peters. He was born in 1813 in Emden. Little is known about his father. His mother remarried later and died in The Hague. It is not entirely clear when the family moved to the Netherlands, but it must have been after the birth of Petrus Johannes, the younger brother of Johannes Robertus, in 1815. The next detail that is known with certainty, is his journey. As early as 1827, just fourteen years old, he went to the Dutch East Indies to try his luck. His younger brother followed him shortly. Lange found a position as an official with the *Directie der Producten en Civiele Magazijnen,* a division of the *Departement van Financiën van Oost-Indië* (Ministry of Finance of the Dutch Indies). This *Directie* was responsible for the management of the produce of the region, intake and sales and, not unimportantly, the trade with Japan. With this *Directie*, his career advanced steadily through the years. In 1839 he married a young woman by the name of Maria Olympia de Wit (ca.1820-1858). One year later his first child, a daughter, was born in Batavia. After some ten years with the *Directie* he was awarded the *Radicaal van Indonesisch Ambtenaar* (Certificate of Indonesian Civil Servant), a qualification that was a prerequisite for promotion to leading positions in the Indonesian civil service.[7] For the year 1844 he can be traced in the lists of the *Almanak* as one of the two chief *kommiezen,* or customs officers, in which position he reported directly to the chairman of the *Directie*.

In 1850 he was appointed as secretary and auctioneer of the residence Rembang. In the *Almanak* of 1851, he is also listed as a registrar and a notary. At that point he had six children, one girl and five boys. During a sick leave of the resident in that same year, Lange replaced him for two months. According to an entry in his official record he obtained a reward of 800 guilders as an official token of gratitude for his adequate performance in this matter. Later the same year, Lange himself fell ill, and was granted a sick leave of two years to the Netherlands. He did not use up the full two years and returned as early as December 1852 to the Dutch Indies.

Another entry in his record shows that he submitted a request for naturalization as a Dutch citizen based on the new legislation on naturalization of 1850. His status as civil servant implied a residence permit for the Dutch Indies, something that had become difficult to obtain since the immigration law of 1818.[8] Only Dutch citizens or Europeans working as civil servants were awarded residence permits automatically. Complying with all conditions for naturalization, there was a fair chance for him to be accepted. Still, it took until January of 1855 before he could sign the documents confirming his naturalization. In the meantime he submitted his resignation from the civil service and was granted a honourable discharge, retaining his pension rights. Pending the decision on his naturalization request he obtained a residence permit.

As explained earlier, the Kambang trade was made available for lease in 1835. The procedure commonly used was to auction off this lease. Ownership was confirmed in an *apostillaire dispositie*, an official statement, of the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies. The conditions for the lease were laid down in a contract. Lange acquired the lease of the Kambang trade per *apostillaire dispositie* dated February 22, 1854.[9] As a matter of fact, the lease had originally been assigned to A.J.J. de Wolff (ca. 1815-1880) from 1853 to 1856. De

6 NL-HaNA, Ministerie van Koloniën: *Stamboeken Burgerlijke Ambtenaren*, 2.10.36.22. *Almanak en Naamregister voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, Batavia 1844-1852. Lange Family archive and A. Banchi, *In viaggio verso sud: una linea d'Amore. Una vecchia corrispondenza rispolverata e commentata*, Florence 2007.

7 C. Fasseur, *De Indologen. Ambtenaren voor de Oost 1825-1950* (Amsterdam 1993), p. 39-44.

8 U. Bosma, "Het Cultuurstelsel en zijn buitenlandse ondernemers," *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 2 (2005), pp. 3-28).

9 NL-HaNA, Factorij Hirado en Deshima, 1.04.21, inv. nr. 1637. (Apostillaire Dispositie and copy of the notarial act)

Wolff had acquired it in 1848 for the period 1849-1852 after having worked as an assistant with the factory in Deshima, and his lease had been renewed in 1852.[10] However, on June 15, 1853, just before setting out on the annual journey to Deshima, De Wolff submitted a request to the Governor-General to allow him to be accompanied by the '*former civil servant'* J.R. Lange. In the affirmative reply of the Governor-General to this request, dated twelve days later, it transpires that it was considered to appoint Lange as an agent of the leaseholder.[11] The chief Donker Curtius was asked by the Governor-General to give his considerations and advice concerning these ideas.

The reply of Donker Curtius to the Governor-General, dated October 31, 1853, arrived with the return of the ship on which De Wolff and Lange had travelled to Deshima.[12] In his reply Donker Curtius raised no objections to Lange. He referred to Lange as the brother of Petrus Johannes Lange who was already employed at the factory at Deshima as scribe, accountant and warehouse keeper. Lange was granted a permanent residence permit on February 18, 1854. De Wolff and his family returned to the Netherlands in 1854. The Governor-General allowed, according to the *apostillaire dispositie* dated February 22, the lease to be transferred to Lange based on his residence permit and Donker Curtius' consent.

1853

As already mentioned, Lange made his first journey to Japan in 1853, as a companion to the Kambang leaseholder De Wolff. Although Lange does not mention this journey in his 1867 letter, an extensive travel account is available from a fellow passenger. The physician and physicist J.K. van den Broek (1814-1865), who in 1853 was appointed physician to Deshima, travelled on the same ship, the Hendrika. Moeshart cites from his travel account, a circular letter published in 1893.[13] When the ship arrived at the Papenberg in the Nagasaki Bay, on August 1, a small group of Japanese civil servants performed the usual entry visit. As was customary, two passengers were taken as hostages overnight to ensure proper conduct of the ship and its crew. De Wolff and Lange were chosen.

Key phrases from the letter that Lange wrote in 1867 to Scheltema will lead us through the history of the small steamship. Lange states in his letter that he discussed steamships in 1853. Regrettably, we do not know with whom he talked**,** but it can be safely assumed that western technology was a frequent subject in conversation. In January 1853, before Lange arrived in Japan, one of the governors of Nagasaki had sought information about the organization of the shipyards in Europe. Interest was shown for the cost of war ships. In September, the pace of the consultations between the governors of Nagasaki and Donker Curtius about the possibility of constructing a Japanese navy picked up. Donker Curtius' letters on this subject, as cited by Van der Chijs, clearly show his concern regarding the matter, as well as the problems of incorporating such deliveries into the current trade model, strictly regulated as it was.[14]

It seems plausible that such important subjects as founding a navy and the delivery of steamships were discussed within the small Dutch community on Deshima. Donker Curtius was not authorized to take decisions in this matter; that was, of course, the responsibility of the Dutch

10 NL-HaNA, Factorij Hirado en Deshima, 1.04.21, inv. nr. 1631, 1632, 1635, 1636.

11 NL-HaNA, Factorij Hirado en Deshima, 1.04.21, inv. nr. 1636.

12 NL-HaNA, Factorij Hirado en Deshima, 1.04.21, inv. nr. 1653.

13 H. J. Moeshart, *Een miskend geneesheer*, p. 36-39. The text was published in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlands Indië* 22, 1 (1893), p. 1-29.

14 H. Stapelkamp, *Gerhardus Fabius (1806-1888). Een leven voor de marine* (Leiden, 1999), p. 89, 97. Also Van der Chijs, *Neêrlands streven tot openstelling*, p. 414-435.

government. Well aware that the Netherlands could not deliver the requested ships on such short notice, he proposed to his government to send some smaller ships for the time being. One of his reasons was the Crimean war, which had only just started. Moving naval ships could be seen as a provocation by other nations, possibly damaging the neutrality that the Netherlands wished to maintain. The war also caused a shortage on the naval ship market. And then there was the Dutch ship building industry's limited capacity for steamships.[15] Donker Curtius hoped to buy time and keep Japan interested by delivering one or two smaller ships. An additional advantage would be that Japan could familiarize itself with handling steamships. Donker Curtius' letters mentioned above and the lists of *eisch- en geschenkgoederen* with the Japanese request for a frigate and a steam corvette were brought to Batavia when the ship, the Hendrika, returned. Lange travelled back on the same ship.

1854: The Delivery

The Dutch government did not react as adequately as Donker Curtius may have hoped. Although it agreed to procure a small steamship, it does not seem to have taken any real action at that moment. This can be concluded from two reply letters sent to Donker Curtius in 1854. It is clear that no ship had been purchased for this purpose, either in the Netherlands, or in the Dutch Indies.

Then, shortly before the annual merchant vessel left for Japan, the Minister of Colonial Affairs, after consulting with the king, decided that a naval steamship would be sent to Japan. Thus the SS Soembing, commanded by Captain G. Fabius (1806-1888), was designated to leave for Japan one month after the annual trade ship had left for the same destination.[16] Part of Fabius' assignment was to support Donker Curtius in the upcoming negotiations with Japan. In letters carried by the merchant vessel, the naval steamship's arrival was announced to Donker Curtius.

In the meantime, in Batavia, Lange had obtained the lease of the Kambang trade and had started to compose his part of the cargo. His consignment note indicates that he shipped for a total value of *f* 35,851.10. The consignment mentions: *'1 model steamer priced 1,225. --'*. A later supplement lists *'4 crates of machinery and 1 bundle miscellaneous, supplementary to the model steamer listed on the primitive consignment note'*. Obviously Lange, in contrast to the Governor-General, had taken up Donker Curtius' suggestion. He had been able to purchase a small steam vessel whereas the Governor-General had stated that no ships were available in the Dutch Indies.

The merchant vessel chartered for 1854 was the Sara Lydia, commanded by captain Bonefasius van der Tak (1802-1899). It was owned by A. Van Hoboken & Co. from Rotterdam and was chartered from its representatives in Batavia.[17] It sailed from Batavia at the end of June 1854, arriving on Deshima July 29. In his letter, Lange supposes the *dagregisters*, the official daily records, of the factory will contain more details about his small steamship.[18] Unfortunately this is not the case. Only the arrival of the Sara Lydia and her departure are noted, as well as the arrival of the Soembing and its captain Fabius on August 22. The only reference in the daily records is from August 25, nearly one month after the arrival of the merchant vessel. That day the governor of Nagasaki visited the Soembing and asked Donker Curtius about the possibility

15 F. C. van Oosten, *Schepen onder stoom. De geboorte van het stoomschip* (Bussum, 1972), p 42-44, 72.

16 NL-HaNA, Factorij Hirado en Deshima, 1.04.21, inv.nr. 1700. Also Stapelkamp, *Fabius*, p. 90.

17 A.Hoyinck van Papendrecht, *Gedenkboek van A. van Hoboken & Co, 1724-1924* (Rotterdam, 1924), p. 95.

18 NL-HaNA, Factorij Hirado en Deshima, 1.04.21, inv. nr. 1620.

of constructing a copy of the Soembing with dimensions similar to that of the *'ship brought by the leaseholder'*. This remark confirms that a steamship had been brought in by a leaseholder, but mentions neither Lange's name nor further details of the small ship itself.

Lange's letter tells about the wide interest of the Japanese for the small ship; about several important visitors, such as the governor of Nagasaki, who frequented the assembly site while the ship was being prepared for its launch; about the enthusiasm of the Japanese when it was finally finished. It does not mention the large Dutch navy vessel, the Soembing, that had arrived in the same period and stayed for two months. It also remains mute on the attention paid to this ship by the Japanese and on the visits the governor of Nagasaki and other officials made to see it. This was not, of course, because Lange did not know about the presence of the Soembing. In fact, Stellingwerff describes how Donker Curtius organized a lunch on the day of arrival of the Soembing. Before the lunch, Fabius was introduced to the Dutchmen present, and Lange was among them.[19]

In his letter, Lange does not divulge the identity of the persons that helped him to assemble the ship; he only says that it took longer than expected. A possible cause for this delay is a lack of know-how and appropriate tools. No shipyard in the region was equipped to deal with steamships, nor was there any staff with enough experience in the field. According to Stellingwerff, Van den Broek, the skilful physician, assembled the steamship. Stellingwerff consistently refers to the steamship as *'Van den Broeks steamship'*. The technical abilities of Van den Broek are confirmed by Maclean and Moeshart. Yet neither of them reports the actual assembly of a small steamship in the year 1854, something they typically would have done, had there been any evidence available that pointed at Van den Broek's direct involvement.[20] Another possible guess is that crewmembers of the Sara Lydia helped with the assembly. After all, they would have had more time on their hands after arriving in Deshima than the appointed physician. The only indication that this was the case is the fact that at least two of them were involved in the trial runs later on.

Apart from the factory's daily records, mentioned by Lange, two more sources are available: the records of Donker Curtius' incoming and outgoing correspondence, and the chief's secret archive.[21] In 1854 a frequent exchange of letters between Donker Curtius and Fabius is recorded in the secret archive. The subject is the support that the Netherlands could offer and the exact requirements of Japan concerning a future Japanese navy. Three days after his arrival, Fabius sent an extensive document discussing *'eene zeemacht'* (a naval force) to Donker Curtius. This is the very day that the daily records report the governor of Nagasaki visiting the Soembing and suggesting the construction of a small copy.

August 26, one day later, two letters are mentioned in the index of the secret archive. They refer to the governor's question. The abstracts leave it at: *'Question whether a model of the Soembing might be constructed'* and *'This question answered negatively'*. The letter from Donker Curtius to Fabius repeats the governor's question in more detail. It inquires whether it would be possible to make a smaller copy of the Soembing during its stay, a model sized like *'the small steamship brought in by Mr Lange'*, to be made by experts on board the Soembing and it asks Fabius to reply in writing. Fabius, in turn, clearly explained that the construction of a copy was not possible. He argued that no one on board knew about the construction of the ship

19 J. Stellingwerff, *Zijne Majesteits Radarstoomschip Soembing overgedragen aan Japan. De drie diplomatieke reizen van kapitein G. Fabius ter opening van Deshima en Nagasaki in 1854, 1855 en 1856* (Zutphen, 1988), p. 29, 41-46, 153.

20 H.J. Moeshart, *Een miskend geneesheer*. Also J. Maclean, "De betekenis van Jan Karel van den Broek (1814-1865) t.a.v. de introductie van de westerse technologie in Japan," *De Ingenieur* 30/31 (1975), p. 594-605.

21 NL-HaNA, Factorij Hirado en Deshima, 1.04.21, inv. nr. 1637, 1688, 1700.

below the water line. Both letters clearly link the small steamship to Lange and, together with the entry in the daily records, it is possible to connect Lange, the leaseholder, and the steamship.

In the same folder as this brief correspondence between Donker Curtius and Fabius, the two replies from the Governor-General and the Minister of Colonial Affairs mentioned above can be found. These letters state that attempts have failed to buy small, unarmed steamships for the year 1854 and inquire about the dimensions and nature of the ship Donker Curtius had in mind for Japan. The letters did not arrive by merchant ship, as was usual, but by the Soembing, thus arriving in Deshima one month after the arrival of Lange and his small steamship, at a moment that it was almost completely assembled.

In spite of Fabius proposing full-fledged plans for a complete Japanese navy, Donker Curtius, in reaction to the official letters, consulted him about the ideas for an unarmed steamship. He quoted the prices of two ships owned by the firm W. Cores de Vries in the Dutch Indies as packet freighters. He included a supplement with a specification of the Langen Lamongan, a steamship of the Englishman Charles Etty (ca 1793-1856), employed since 1850 in the packet service between Makassar and Surabaya.[22] The author of this supplement was Lange, showing again that he had taken Donker Curtius' original idea rather seriously. No written reply by Fabius is known, which should not surprise us, since Fabius had already given his views on this matter. He was convinced that Japan would not accept yet another unarmed steamship and that the time had come to bring naval ships to Japan. August 26 he started teaching navy subjects to Japanese trainees on the Soembing and in Donker Curtius' house.

The incoming correspondence file contains another letter of Lange about the steamship, dated September 3, with a supplement (*See fig. 2*). It opens by reporting that the steamship now is fully operational, that several trial runs have been made and that it is now in a state to be transferred to the Japanese government. These trial runs are also mentioned in his 1867 letter.

> *'I made the first trips with the steamship in the bay, accompanied by our friend B. van der Tak, acting as helmsman, a Japanese opperbanjoos, a Japanese interpreter and a Japanese engineer. The boatswain of the Sara Lydia was stoker, and I controlled the engine. We kept manoeuvring in the vicinity of the city.'*

The second half of the 1854 letter contains an interesting section. It suggests most tactfully that the Japanese who joined on the first trips might not yet be adequately trained in navigating the ship. The supplement to the letter is a manual written by Lange for the steam engine of the ship. It explains the need for proper maintenance for those parts through which water flows.

Finally, though seemingly unrelated, the visit of the English squadron commanded by Sir James Stirling (1791-1865) should be mentioned.[23] Searching for an enemy Russian naval squadron in the area, he paid a visit to Nagasaki on September 7 and stayed a month. Lange, just like the other Dutchmen, had no contact with the English squadron. He did not know that drawings were made of the surroundings of the bay –the bay that was the home base of his steamship.

The Soembing returned to Batavia end of October, the Sara Lydia sailed end of November, and these events marked the end of the trading season of 1854 on Deshima. A number of events occurred after the return of the Sara Lydia to Batavia, that are relevant for the case of Lange and his little steamship.

22 *Koloniaal Verslag* 1850 and *Javaasche Courant* 6 december 1851.

23 Stellingwerff, *Zijne Majesteits Radarstoomschip*, p. 33-34, and Stapelkamp, *Gerardus Fabius*, p. 93.

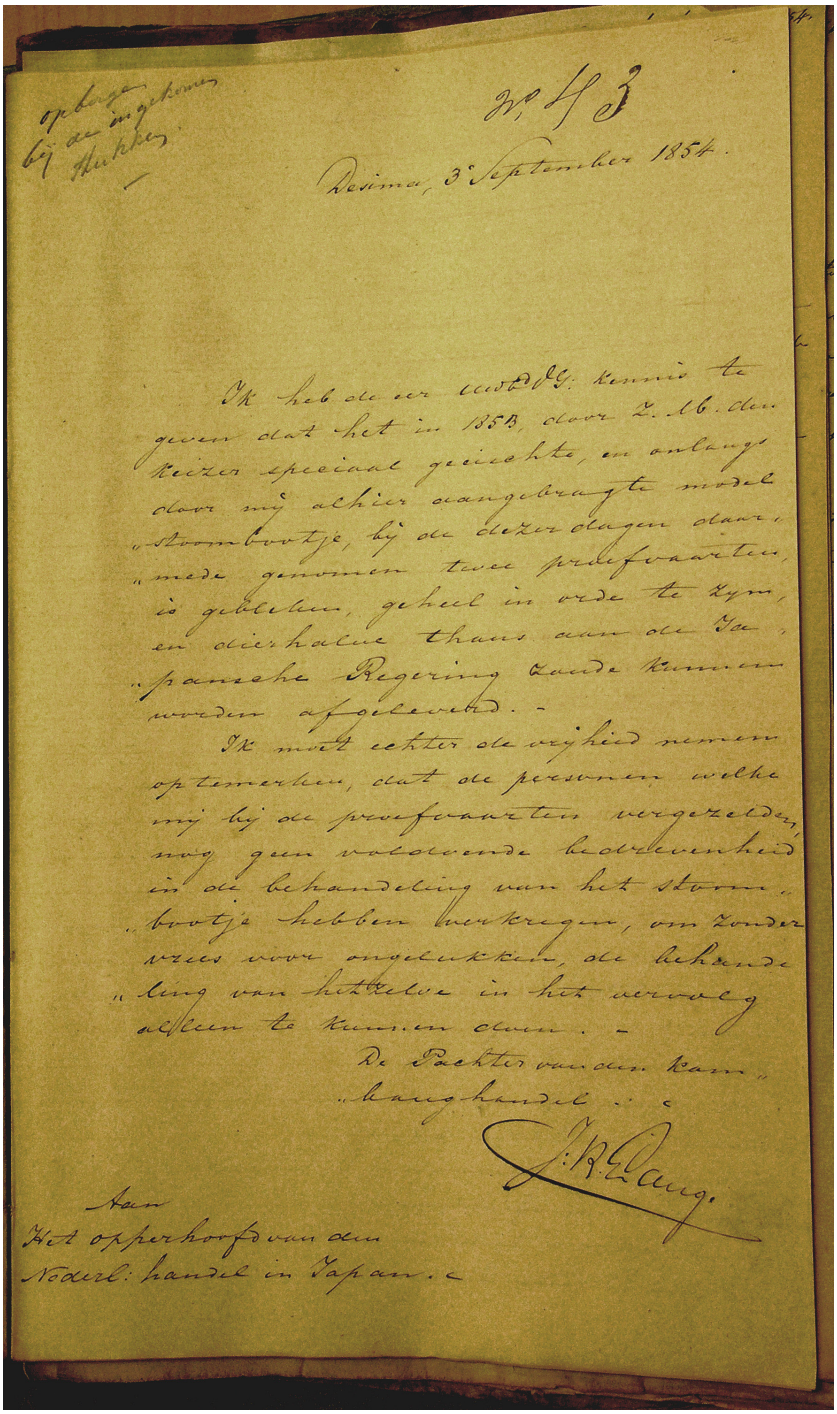

Fig. 2 Lange's letter to Donker Curtius dated September 3, 1854. (NL-HaNA, Factorij Hirado en Deshima, 1.04.21, inv. nr. 1637, 1688, 1700)

1855 and after

Lange's lease contract was supposed to run until 1856. Recall that Lange had taken the place of De Wolff for the full contract period. The situation had changed, however, and the Dutch government had decided that it would be better if the Kambang trade were brought under the control of the government. In 1854 Donker Curtius had proposed this several times. In that way it would be freed of the stipulations that had until then limited both the Komps trade and the Kambang trade. This would make it possible to transport and trade goods that had been privileged only to the Kambang trader, and would facilitate payment of the naval ships to be ordered by Japan. Fabius and the chairman of the *Directie der Producten en Civiele Magazijnen* arranged for a buy-out of Lange. This was a matter of mutual consent as can be learned from Van der Chijs. He cites Lange who realised that this change was a necessity for the government, which could not suffer another two years' delay as implied by the terms of his contract. All goods and running expenses were reimbursed to Lange and additionally a sum of 250,000 guilders was paid to compensate for lost revenues. This sum can be considered fair when examining an 1854 specification of the profits in the Kambang trade in the preceding five years, ranging from 100,000 to 144,000 guilders. The Government also accepted Lange's proposal to become the first governmental trade agent, which would allow him to return to Deshima. In addition he offered to take care of training his successor. In 1855

he signed documents as *'The Governmental agent of the Kambang trade'*.[24]

After this had been arranged, the trade journey to Japan could be undertaken. This time two ships were chartered, with Lange on one of them. The ships carried many books and technical equipment, such as a daguerreotype device and several types of navigation instruments. The naval ships Soembing and Gedeh were sent as well, the first as a present to Japan, to move ahead of the Americans and the English. Later, in 1857, England sent a small steam yacht, the *Emperor*, specially made as a present to the Japanese Emperor.

At the other side of the world, in England, a richly illustrated article was published in the January 13, 1855 issue of *The Illustrated London News*.[25] It dealt with the visit of Sir James Stirling to Nagasaki in September 1854. During that visit, drawings of the surroundings were made, which served as illustrations to the article. One of them features a small steamship in the bay, in front of Deshima. Considering the time elapsed between the visit of the English squadron to Nagasaki and the publication of the article, we have to conclude that this must be Lange's steamship. It is also clear that Fabius, who was in the Netherlands at the time of publication, and the Dutch government were aware of the article in *The Illustrated London News*. Probably Lange did not hear about it, otherwise he would have mentioned it in his lengthy letter.

Returning to Lange's letter of 1867, Lange describes that in 1855 he had seen a small steamship sailing in the bay, manned by a Japanese crew. He suggests that a larger vessel was under construction and that both new ships were built by the same engineer who had attended the test trips of Lange's ship. Whence he obtained this information remains unclear and further evidence is lacking. Fabius' report of 1855 contains an entry for October 22 that may be related. He describes how he observed the Japanese trainees making a trip with the *'leaseholder's ship'* without any assistance. He explicitly refers to it as the *same* ship, and not, as Lange did, as a different albeit similar one.

After 1855, Lange's dealings with Japan came to an end. He moved with his family to Europe to enjoy his retirement. His wife died in 1858. He married again with Madeleine Jeanne Hüter (ca 1838-1911) and took residence in The Hague, where six more children were born. He died in 1874 at the age of sixty-one.

Finally, Stellingwerff introduces another small steamship by quoting the diary of W.J.C. Huyssen van Kattendijke (1816-1866).[26] The latter visited Deshima in 1857-1859, after the delivery of the naval steamship. He was one of the team of some fifty men and officers who had been recruited to educate the Japanese in navy matters, after the Soembing had been transferred to Japan. He visited a small paddle steamship, measuring close to twenty ells in length, that was located in Kagoshima. He was told that the ship had been made in Edo, and that it had been constructed with the help of drawings in the book of "professor Verdam."[27] It was made out of wood and covered with copper plates; the steam engine did not perform as well as could be expected. Huyssen van Kattendijke gives 1851 as its construction date. If that is correct, evidently Lange's ship was not really the first steamship in Japan. Moeshart shows, however, that it is very likely that not all data as given by Huyssen van Kattedijke are correct. He points out that Verdam's book does not contain drawings of steamships, only drawings of steam engines, and he cites Van den Broek who was asked in 1853 by engineers from Satsuma to teach them the construction of a steam engine. They hoped that this would enable them to build their own steamship. According to Van den Broek this little steamship was ready at the end of 1854.

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24 NL-HaNA, Factorij Hirado en Deshima, 1.04.21, inv. nr. 1889.

25 T. Bennet, *Japan and The Illustrated London News. Complete Records of the reported Events 1853-1899* (Folkstone, 2006), p. 11.

26 Stellingwerff, *Zijne Majesteits Radarstoomschip*, p. 66.

27 This must be G. J. Verdam, *Gronden der Toegepaste Werktuigkunde*, Groningen 1828-1832.

Although he had never seen it himself, he still assumed it was the same steamship that Huyssen van Kattendijke described.[28] In that case there must have been two small steamships operational at the end of 1854 in Japan, one built locally and one brought in by Lange.

The small paddle steamship

The few facts known about the steamship itself can be recapitulated as follows. The quotation listed by Lange in 1854 was 1225 guilders. This fact alone indicates that it cannot have been a large ship. The only clue in Lange's letter regarding the size of the ship is the number of the people on board that he mentions in his description of the trial runs. Here he speaks of six people. Van der Chijs also refers to a small steamship. A length of about fourteen meters, corresponding to Huyssen van Kattendijke's twenty ells, sounds compatible with this. The Soembing, in comparison, measured forty-five meters.

The image in the *London Illustrated News* shows a small paddle steamship. Lange's letter and Van der Chijs refer to an iron steamship. Both are plausible, since this kind of ships was in use in England and India.[29] They were an improvement over the wooden ships of the time. Small steam vessels were often transported in parts by sailing ships and assembled on location, which matches the way in which Lange brought his ship to Japan. The same method was used, for example, in the case of two Dutch ships that were constructed in Rotterdam and shipped to Indonesia. The first of these, the Hekla, was launched as early as 1836. The disadvantage of these iron ships was that they tended to be rather hot inside, which did not pose much of a problem in Europe, but caused great discomfort to the crew, especially the stoker, in warmer regions.

The other possibility is that it was a wooden ship plated with copper. These small copper plates prevented organic growth under the water line. Covering a ship in this way was an often-used technique at that time and would match the ship described by Huyssen van Kattendijke. It also matches Lange's description of the Langen Lamongan.

Nothing is known about the engine of the ship and related issues, but at that time most steam engines for ships were of English origin, and were used in ships all over Europe and Asia. Most steamships also had the possibility to carry some sail in order to improve speed or to save coal. It is not far-fetched to assume that this was also the case for Lange's steamship.

Summary

J.R. Lange was the last leaseholder of the Kambang trade before it was taken over by the government after the so-called opening of Japan. In 1854 Lange transported a small paddle steamship to Nagasaki as part of his trade cargo. Due to diplomatic constraints the Dutch government was unable to comply with the Japanese request for steamships. Lange, in a less official position, was able to move faster, which allowed him to bring the small steamship to Japan one year before the naval paddle steamer, the Soembing, was transferred to Japan on behalf of the Dutch government.

The sale of the small steam vessel is confirmed, not only by Van der Chijs, but also by other sources: several records from the archives of the factory, the log of the Soembing, the 1855 report of Fabius, and the *Illustrated London News*. Moeshart, Kogure, Stapelkamp, Van Oosten,

28 Moeshart, *Een miskend geneesheer*, p. 184-189.

29 R. Badiner, *The Adventure of Steam. The Merchant Steamship before 1900*, London 1972.

and Badiner have supplied valuable background information.

Lange's ship appears in several places in the records and may have been the first steamship in Japan. Yet the most basic facts about it seem to have sunk into oblivion; even its name is no longer known.

Drs. A.C. Ravensberg took an MA in Semitic Languages and Cultures at Leiden University. She was involved in editing the Dutch translation of In viaggio verso sud: una linea d'Amore, *an Italian book about the history of the Lange Family. A tiny remark in this family chronicle led to a search through the archives that resulted in this article.*

The Letters

WelEdHeer J.R. Lange
s 'Gravenhage
Haarlem 26 September 1867
Waarde Heer!
Naar aanleiding van ons gesprek van gister heb ik het genoegen U mede te deelen dat in het door ons besproken werk van Mr. J.A. van der Chijs / Neerlands streven enz / Bladz 135 wordt medegedeeld "De verdienste van aan Japan het bezit van het eerste stoomvaartuig te verschaffen, zal evenwel het jagt niet hebben. De pachter van onzen Kambang handel heeft daar reeds in het vorige jaar een ijzeren stoomscheepje aangebragt!"
In het mij toebehorende exemplaar heb ik daarover bijgeschreven wat U de goedheid hadt mij omtrent dat stoomscheepje door U in Japan gebragt te zeggen.
Wijders met de meeste achting Gaarne
UwEd DW Dienr. D Scheltema
(*See fig. 3*)

's Gravenhage, 29 September 1867
Waarde Heer Scheltema!
Met zeer veel genoegen zag ik mij, bij Uwe vriendelijke letteren van den 26' dezer aangewezen, de bladzijde van het werk van Mr. J.A. van der Chijs " Neêrlandsch streven tot openstelling van Japan enz." waarbij in enkele woorden /bladz 135/ wordt gezegd " De verdienste van aan Japan het bezit van het eerste stoomvaartuig te verschaffen, zal evenwel het Jagt niet hebben. De pachter van onzen Kambanghandel heeft daar reeds in het vorige jaar een ijzeren stoomscheepje aangebragt." Dat enz: ..
Ik betuig UwEdGeb: voor die attentie mijn hartelijken dank. Nooit welligt zou ik aan die gebeurtenis meer gedacht hebben, zoo het toeval mij niet in één wagon op den spoorweg van Amsterdam naar Haarlem plaats had doen nemen waar in UwEdGeb: reeds gezeten waart, bij welke gelegenheid UwEdG. op ons kort traject, mij op het werk van den Heer Mr. J.A. van der Chijs attent maakte.
Nergens nog heb ik vroeger eenige melding zien gemaakt van deze zaak, en welligt was het werk van den Heer Mr. J.A. van der Chijs, dat in hoofdzaak slechts uittreksels bevat van rapporten van den Minister van Kolonien aan Z.M. den Koning, minder geschikt om zulks breedvoeriger te doen dan nu is geschied, anders had men van het ijzeren

Fig 3. Address on the reverse of the letter Lange received from Scheltema in 1867.

stoomscheepje als eersteling in Japan kunnen zeggen hoe enthousiast de Japanners waren toen zij bij het binnenkomen van het schip Sara Lydia Kapt. B. van der Tak vernamen dat zich aan boord van dat schip bevond het ijzeren stoomscheepje waarover ik in 1853 met hen had gesproken, hoe ik dagelijks bestormd werd met dringende verzoeken om het stoomscheepje met spoed in elkander te zetten, hoe de Japanners van alle deelen des

des lands elken dag teekeningen kwamen maken van de stoommachine tot in de kleinste bijzonderheden, zelfs door personen expresselijk daarvoor door de Japansche Regering uit Iedo naar Desima gezonden. Met welk een aandrang men, toen het in eenzetten, ten gevolge der gebrekkige hulpmiddelen, wat lang duurde, zelfs van de zijde van het Gouvernement van Nagasaki, mij kwam verzoeken om het scheepje toch spoedig te water te brengen, en eindelijk door dat Gouvernement bijna de dag werd bepaald waarop hetzelve die te waterlating wenschte te zien gebeuren.
Ik maakte met het stoomscheepje het eerst togtjes in de baai in gezelschap van onzen vriend B. van der Tak als stuurman, een Japansche Opperbanjoos, een Japanschen tolk, en een Japanschen werktuigkundige, de constabel van het schip Sara Lydia was stoker, en ik bestuurde de machine; Wij bleven in de nabijheid van de stad manoeuvreren; Dit gaf zulk eene sensatie onder de inwoners, dat schier alle de van de baai tot in de stad hoog oplopende straten opgevuld waren met menschen, en er bijna geen huis was waarvan de daken niet door toeschouwers waren ingenomen.
In het volgende jaar /1855/ zag ik een klein stoombootje in de baai varen bestuurd door

eenige Japanners. Men zeide mij dat dit geheel nagemaakt was, naar mijn stoomscheepje, en dat er in een ander gedeelte van Japan, naar dat stoomscheepje, een veel grooter in aanbouw was, waarbij de werktuigkundige die ons in 1854 had vergezeld assisteerde. Het kleine door de Japaners vervaardigde stoomscheepje, konde ik tot mijn spijt, niet van nabij te zien krijgen, dewijl Japan toen nog voor ons gesloten was. Nooit

Nooit was het vroeger aan eenig Europeaan toegestaan geweest om in de baai te varen, en ik stoomde die van alle kanten tot aan den Papenberg door tot dat het scheepje aan het Japansche Gouvernement werd afgeleverd, daar hetzelve door de Keizerlijke geldkamer voor rekening van den Keizer was overgenomen.
In het dagregister dat destijds door het Opperhoofd bij de factorij van onzen handel in Japan gehouden werd, en waarin alles opgeteekend werd wat in Japan van eenig belang voorviel, moet breedvoerig over het stoomscheepje en wat daarmede is gebeurd(~~voorgevallen~~), geschreven zijn, en daarin zal dan ook wel als eene bijzonderheid vermeld zijn dat de Gouverneur van Nagasaki met zijn gevolg waaronder zich eenige Iedosche grooten bevonden, een speciaal bezoek op Desima liet aankondigen, en de wensch te kennen gaf, om bij die gelegenheid het /:Foeneh Gih:/ stoomscheepje te zien varen. Het Opperhoofd noodigde mij uit om daaraan te voldoen; dit geschiedde dan ook, en de Gouverneur was even zoo voldaan als de overigen over hetgeen zij voor het eerst in Japan gezien hadden. Om het groote belang te doen uitkomen dat het Japansche Gouvernement door dat buitengewone bezoek, in de zaak stelde, moet men weten dat de Gouverneurs van Nagasaki destijds zich nimmer op Desima vertoonden dan alleen na de afrekening van een handelsjaar met de Keizerlijke geldkames even voor het vertrek (~~van het vertrek~~) van het handelsschip. Dit bezoek noemden de Japanners destijds een afscheids bezoek.
Dat de zaak ook bij de Nederlandsche Regering voor de toekomst niet zonder beteekenis is geacht, blijkt intusschen uit de weinige woorden door den Minister van Kolonien gebezigd, en in het werk van den Heer Mr. J.A.van der Chijs overgenomen

overgenomen, maar de gebeurtenis is daarom niet van algemene bekendheid. Het werk van den Heer Mr. van der Chijs is niet geschikt om die algemeene bekendheid te verwezenlijken omdat hetzelve, als eene uitgaven van het Koninklijke Instituut voor de taal- land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie in weinig meer handen komt dan in die der leden van het Instituut, en toch zou het, nu de stoom reeds zoo algemeen in Japan is geworden, zijn nut kunnen hebben dat bekendheid van de zaak meer algemeen, en zij aan de vergetelheid onttrokken werd, ter voorkoming dat na verloop van tijd, de verdienste van aan Japan het bezit van het eerste stoomvaartuig te hebben verschaft, niet aan Nederland worde betwist.
Voor de nationale eer van Nederland zou het welligt nuttig zijn, om op een geschikte tijd en plaats de zaak in aller geheugen te brengen. Om dit eenigzins volledig te doen, zou men het leidraad kunnen nemen het hiervoor bedoelde dagregister van het Opperhoofd bij de factorij van den Nederlandschen handel in Japan, thans waarschijnlijk berustende bij een der Ministerien van Koloniën of Buitenlandsche Zaken.
Met betuiging van Hoogachting heb ik de Eer mij te noemen:
Uw EdGebn. D.V. Dienaar
J.R.Lange

Ito Hiromi (1955-)

Ook al hagelt het niet meer

In 1903 ergens in Zuid Amerika
Bleef het 12 minuten lang vogeltjes regenen
De grond werd onder vogellijkjes bedolven
Ook toen de vogeltjeshagel voorbij was dwarrelden nog
Zoals sneeuw
De veertjes van de vogeltjes gestadig neer
Een vriendin met, hoewel anders geschreven, de naam Hiromi kwam
speciaal bij mij langs
Natto, hassaku, en eieren
Brengen
'Die gaan we samen opeten' zei ze
'Deze zijn zonder landbouwgif, natuurlijk, veilig, je kunt ze gerust eten'
Met haar had ik al eens
Samen gegeten en
Samen geplast en
Ons samen ontlast en daarom wilde ik
Deze keer eens samen
Bevallen
Met een volledige piemel eraan (te willen baren)
Waarmee hij met mij gemeenschap kon hebben (te willen baren)
In mij kon ejaculeren (te willen baren)
Zijn snor moest hij wel afscheren, maar (te willen baren)
Ook als hij hem schoor bleef daarna nog lichaamsgeur over (te willen baren)
Een 22jarige lange man (te willen baren)
Een 19jarige lange man (te willen baren)
Een 25jarige lange een 29jarige lange man (te willen baren)
Zoals een grote boodschap
Laat ons baren, tezamen
Volgens de prachtige methode van Lamaze
Oe
Onder mijn vriendinnen was er nog een die, anders geschreven maar toch
Hiromi heette
En die pleegde zelfmoord
Van de tiende verdieping sprong ze omlaag en werd meteen gevonden
Ze stootte enkel haar hoofd, zonder zichtbare wond
Door de samengestroomde mensen
Gevraagd *ben je gesprongen* antwoordde ze
Om de donder niet
Na enige tijd verloor ze het bewustzijn, zo zei haar moeder

‘Hiromi’ haar handen waren gezwollen en dat was echt iets voor ‘Hiromi’
Zo zei haar moeder
Als je *ze sprong, ze sprong* zei antwoordde ‘Hiromi’
Niet waar, niet waar, zo zei de moeder
Ze sprong ze sprong, niet waar niet waar
Dat *ze sprong* staat wel vast, maar waarom weten we niet
Waarschijnlijk had ze verdriet om een man, maar de waarheid weten we niet
Het
Serene shiitake
Nog een vriendin die, anders geschreven maar toch, Hiromi heette
Bracht shiitake en kombu mee
Zij gaf mij honderd yen terug, gaf mij twee pakjes Mild Seven
Serene shiitake
Zij had chronische nierontsteking
Voor haar moest er zout zijn haar Mild Seven
Shiitake kombu die roken naar pis
Ha, Ha
De genante bevalling
Groeiende eitjes
Zich delende eitjes
Wriemelende eitjes steken voetjes uit steken wangetjes uit
Blij
Blije eitjes
Blije shiitake
Blije natto
Blije hassaku
Blije nieren
Blije vogeltjeshagel
Blije ‘Hiromi’s
Te willen baren
Te willen baren

Uit *Teritoriiron 2* (Over territory 2)

Ito Hiromi werd in 1955 in Tokyo geboren en studeerde letterkunde aan de Aoyamagakuin Universiteit. In 1978 debuteerde zij met de bundel Kusaki no sora. De bundel Teritoriiron 2, waaruit het bovenstaande gedicht komt, verscheen in 1985. Naast gedichten publiceerde zij ook romans en essays. In Japan wordt zij gezien als een vooraanstaand representante van de generatie na-oorlogse vrouwelijke dichters.
Vertaald door Frans Verwayen.

Enkele verklarende noten:

Natto; gefermenteerde sojabonen.
Hassaku; een soort mandarijn.
Lamaze; Fernand Lamaze (1890-1957), Russische geleerde die een methode van pijnloos bevallen propageerde.
Mild Seven; een merk sigaretten.

Duizend herfsten

Hans Kuijpers

Recensie van / Review of
David Mitchell, *The Thousand Autumns of Jacob de Zoet*.
London, Hodder & Stoughton Ltd. 2010.
In het Nederlands vertaald als *De niet verhoorde gebeden van Jacob de Zoet*. Vertaald door Harm Damsma en Niek Miedema. Amsterdam, Ailantus. 2010

Mitchell keert in zijn laatste boek weer terug naar Japan. Na in *Ghostwritten* en *number9dream* het hedendaagse Japan als toneel te hebben genomen, gaat hij nu ruim 200 jaar terug in de tijd en is Nagasaki het gebied waar het verhaal zich afspeelt.

Het verhaal

De roman speelt in de laatste dagen van de achttiende eeuw, in Nagasaki. Het is de tijd dat de VOC failliet gaat (31 december 1800), in Nederland de Bataafse Republiek aan het bewind is, en de Engelsen de Nederlandse invloed in Azië snel doen afnemen. Ook Deshima loopt gevaar. Het verhaal laat zich in drie bedrijven verdelen, met een voorspel en een coda. In het eerste bedrijf is Jacob de Zoet de hoofdpersoon. Afkomstig uit Domburg, is hij in dienst getreden van de VOC om fortuin te maken en zijn geliefde Anna te kunnen trouwen. Het eerste bedrijf begint in 1799 met zijn aankomst op Deshima, als klerk van het nieuwe opperhoofd Vorstenbosch. Deze Vorstenbosch heeft als speciale missie het aanpakken van de corruptie op de handelspost Deshima, en verder doet hij een poging om het quotum koper dat de Japanse regering voor de export ter beschikking stelt, drastisch te vergroten. De Zoet staat hem in beide zaken vol overtuiging bij, wat hem op aanvaringen te staan komt met de andere Nederlanders op Deshima en met sommige Japanse tolken. Zowel zijn landgenoten als de tolken hebben hun eigen privé zaakjes en belangen, en zij zijn er niet van gediend dat De Zoet hen in de wielen rijdt. Het creëert spanning, want de lezer realiseert zich dat De Zoet op dun ijs loopt, en maakt zich zorgen om hem.

Ook met de Nederlandse arts van Deshima, dokter Marinus, komt De Zoet in conflict, maar dit is eerder een komische noot. Marinus heeft een aantal Japanse studenten die hij onderricht geeft in Europese geneeskunde. Een van deze studenten is de vroedvrouw Aibagawa Orito (Wat een verschrikkelijk naam overigens. Over de herkomst van deze naam heb ik al

discussies gehad. Is de naam een grap en gaat hier de Nederlandse vrouwennaam Riet achter schuil? Of zijn het de karakters voor 'wevend persoon', omdat Orito het oosten met het westen verweeft via haar studies?). We hebben haar in voorspel leren kennen, waar zij assisteert bij de geboorte van de zoon van de magistraat van Nagasaki en het leven van de baby redt. Uit dankbaarheid geeft de magistraat haar toestemming om de lessen van dokter Marinus te volgen. Daar ontmoet De Zoet haar. Hoewel zij een ontsierend litteken op haar gezicht heeft, valt De Zoet voor haar, en probeert hij de dokter zover te krijgen, dat deze hem helpt om een ontmoeting met haar te hebben. De dokter eist er het een en ander voor terug, en De Zoet komt diverse keren in genante situaties terecht.

Wanneer Vorstenbosch Deshima gaat verlaten, blijkt, dat hij zelf even corrupt is als de corruptie die hij moest bestrijden. De Zoet weigert mee te doen, met als gevolg dat Vorstenbosch niet hem, maar een ander tot opperhoofd aanstelt, en De Zoet in een ondergeschikte functie op Deshima moet blijven dienen. Hij verdwijnt naar de achtergrond, en het tweede bedrijf begint.

De hoofdfiguur in het tweede bedrijf is Orito, en haar tegenspeler is "de abt Enomoto." Deze abt heeft niet alleen een eigen klooster, maar ook een eigen leen. Hij beschikt over goede connecties in Edo en heeft ook in Nagasaki veel in de melk te brokkelen. Hier neemt Mitchell wat vrijheden die een roman uiteraard biedt. Als Japanoloog moeten we toch aantekenen dat abten nooit Enomoto konden heten. Enomoto is een Japanse familienaam, terwijl abten geen familienaam voerden, maar namen hadden die bestonden uit twee Chinese karakters, op zijn Chinees gelezen. Verder konden abten geen leenheer zijn, en was de wereldlijke macht van kloosters zeer beperkt.

De arme Orito wordt na het overlijden van haar vader door haar stiefmoeder aan Enomoto verkocht, en meegenomen naar zijn klooster in de bergen in de buurt van Nagasaki, waar een wel heel vreemde cultus blijkt te bestaan. Het klooster is bevolkt door monniken en door lekenzusters die regelmatig door de monniken bezwangerd worden. Wanneer de kinderen geboren zijn, worden zij de moeders afgenomen en voor adoptie vrijgegeven. Eens per jaar krijgen de moeders bericht van hun kinderen, in brieven van de pleegouders of van de kinderen zelf. De vrouwen zullen na een aantal jaren zelf ook weer naar de gewone wereld mogen afdalen, met voldoende geld om van te kunnen leven.

Tijdens een ontsnappingspoging ontdekt Orito, dat dit doorgestoken kaart is. De kinderen worden in het klooster gedood, in een ritueel voor "de godin", en de brieven worden door de monniken geschreven. Het vreemde is, dat zij haar ontsnappingspoging niet doorzet, hoewel ze al buiten het klooster is, maar op haar schreden terugkeert. "De roep van de godin," zegt Enomoto; "mijn verantwoordelijkheid tegenover mijn zwangere lotgenoten," denkt Orito.

Onderwijl wordt er door de tolk Ogawa Uzaemon een poging op touw gezet om haar te bevrijden. Hij is ook verliefd op haar en heeft via via een document in handen gekregen waarin de kwalijke praktijken van het klooster beschreven staan. Voor hij uit Nagasaki vertrekt, geeft hij dit document in bewaring aan De Zoet. Door verraad loopt Uzaemons poging op niets uit, en wordt hij door Enomoto persoonlijk doodgeschoten met een Nederlands pistool. Einde van het

tweede bedrijf, dat in flitsende thriller stijl wordt gebracht.

Het derde bedrijf is Engelse zeemansromantiek. De Engelse kapitein Penhaligon vaart met zijn fregat HMS Phoebus de baai van Nagasaki binnen, met het doel Nederlandse koopvaardijschepen te kapen, Deshima te bezetten en een handelsverdrag tussen Engeland en Japan te sluiten. De VOC is immers failliet gegaan, en Nederland is in handen van de Franse vijand gevallen. Penhaligon neemt het Nederlandse opperhoofd als gijzelaar, en probeert onderhandelingen aan te knopen met de Japanse autoriteiten, maar dankzij het slimme en standvastige optreden van De Zoet mislukt dit. Penhaligon moet onverrichter zake vertrekken, wat hij ook doet, maar niet eerder dan nadat hij Deshima heeft gebombardeerd.

De magistraat, die het Engelse schip eerst de baai binnen heeft laten varen en daarna weer ongemoeid heeft moeten laten vertrekken, weet dat zelfmoord voor hem de enige uitweg is. Hij heeft echter van De Zoet het document over Enomoto's klooster er inzage gekregen, en besluit als laatste goede daad Enomoto mee te nemen in zijn dood. Dat lukt, door vergif in de *sake* te doen. Een laatste toast, en beiden overlijden. De Zoet en dokter Marinus blijven achter in Nagasaki, en Orito vertrekt naar Kyoto, waar zij als vroedvrouw komt te werken aan het keizerlijke hof. Jaren later, bij de begrafenis van Marinus, zien De Zoet en Orito elkaar nog voor een allerlaatste maal.

Zoals deze samenvatting laat zien, neemt Mitchell ook in deze roman weer geen genoegen met één verhaallijn, en vlecht hij drie plots in verschillende stijlen door elkaar. Het boek is hiernaast op het overdadige af gestoffeerd met bijfiguren en nevenintriges. Mitchell is ook niet te beroerd om van deze bijfiguren echte karakters te maken, of het nu de slaven van de Nederlanders op Deshima zijn, of de Japanse tolken, of de monniken van Enomoto's infame klooster, of de meisjes uit Maruyama, of de officieren van het Engelse schip. Het is op deze manier een druk boek geworden waarin regelmatig even terug moet worden gebladerd om te kijken wie nu wat deed en vond.

Historische betrouwbaarheid

Een interessante regel in het boek is: "All characters in this publication are fictitious and any resemblance to real persons, living or dead, is purely coincidental". Hiermee wordt wel heel eenvoudig voorbij gegaan aan de zeer grondige voorbereiding van Mitchell. Voor het voltooien van deze roman bracht hij als "writer in residence" een half jaar door op het Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies in Wassenaar, leerde hij Nederlands om de cultuur en geschiedenis beter te begrijpen, bezocht hij musea en oude steden om de Hollandse sfeer van het eind van de achttiende eeuw en het begin van de negentiende eeuw te proeven, en las hij de Dagregisters van de handelsfactorij op Deshima. Mitchells onderzoek naar het leven op Deshima levert een geloofwaardig decor op voor zijn roman.

De hoofdpersoon Jacob de Zoet vertoont onmiskenbaar overeenkomsten met Hendrik Doeff (1777-1835), die in werkelijkheid van 1799 tot en met 1817 op Deshima verbleef, en van

1803 tot 1817 opperhoofd van deze handelspost was. Gedurende de Franse tijd trotseerde hij op Deshima de Britten, hield hij wellicht als laatste de Hollandse driekleur in top, en maakte hij zich zijn tijdens zijn vele vrije uren nuttig met het compileren, samen met de tolken, van een woordenboek Nederlands-Japans. Dit woordenboek, dat bekend staat als de "Doeff-Halma," werd veelvuldig gebruikt door de zogenaamde "Hollandologen," de Japanse studenten die via het Nederlands de westerse wetenschappen bestudeerden. De beroemdste kopie van dit boek ligt wellicht in de Tekijuki in Osaka, de school van de Hollandoloog Ogata Kōan (1810-1863) waar Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901) studeerde. De afbeelding van deze laatste, een van Japans bekendste verlichters, siert nog immer het briefje van 10.000 Yen.

Ook de tweede Nederlandse hoofdpersoon, dokter Marinus, vertoont overeenkomsten met bestaande personages die als arts en leraar op Deshima verbleven. Marinus heeft in de roman onder Linnaeus (1707-1778) gestudeerd, net als de Zweedse arts Thunberg (1743-1828) die daadwerkelijk op Deshima verbleef en *Systema naturae* (1735) van Linnaeus introduceerde in de Japanse botanie. Net als een andere arts, Von Siebold (1796-1866), wenst Marinus geen deel uit te maken van de universitaire wereld, maar wil hij wel de wereld verblijden met kennis over Japan door een *Flora Japonica* uit te geven - iets dat Thunberg al had gedaan en dat Von Siebold later opnieuw zou doen. Ook de hobbies van Marinus, zijn klavecimbel en botanische tuin, zijn niet geheel toevallig. De piano die Von Siebold meebracht in 1823 wordt over het algemeen gezien als de eerste piano in Japan. Met andere woorden, de diverse interesses van Von Siebold en Thunberg vinden we terug in de persoon van dokter Marinus.

Orito, tenslotte, herinnert niet alleen in naam aan Von Siebolds dochter O-Ine. Ook O-Ine was als vroedvrouw werkzaam, vanzelfsprekend in de Nederlandse stijl.

Mitchell manipuleert de geschiedenis zoals hij dat nodig acht voor de roman. Derhalve is niet alles correct. Men kan hier onder andere denken aan hoe Japan in die tijd werd bestuurd, en het gebruik van de Japanse naamgeving. Ook de wonderlijke geschiedenis van Enomoto en zijn klooster is volstrekt on-Japans en lijkt vooral voor de spanning te zijn toegevoegd.

Een Engelse oorlogsschip heeft inderdaad Nagasaki aangedaan, in 1808, dus enige jaren later dan in de roman, en met minder duidelijke oogmerken. Het schip heette de Phaëton en voer onder Nederlandse vlag de baai binnen. Er zijn twee Nederlanders als gijzelaars aan boord genomen (maar die werden wel beiden weer vrij gelaten, anders dan in de roman). De Zoets tegenvoeter Hendrik Doeff bood kranig weerstand en hield de Nederlandse driekleur hoog. De magistraat heeft zelfmoord gepleegd, maar met het zwaard, zoals het hoort, en hij wordt nog steeds vereerd in een kleine schrijn op het terrein van de Suwa-jinja in Nagasaki. Deshima werd niet gebombardeerd. Wie zich in dat aspect wil verdiepen, leze W.A. Veenhoven, *Strijd om Deshima: een onderzoek naar de aanslagen van Amerikaanse, Engelse en Russische zijde op het Nederlandse handelsmonopolie in Japan gedurende de periode 1800-1817* - een Leidse dissertatie uit 1950.

Tot slot

Net als in zijn eerdere boeken, blijkt ook uit *The Thousand Autumns of Jacob de Zoet* het verhalend talent van Mitchell en zijn kracht om de lezer mee te nemen naar andere werelden. Voor *number9dream* en *Cloud Atlas* werd Mitchell genomineerd voor de Booker Prize, maar er is nog geen toekenning geweest. Met Duizend Herfsten staat hij wederom op de longlist. Wellicht dat dit boek hem eindelijk de prijs doet toekomen. Drie maal scheepsrecht!

Drs J.P.A. Kuijpers is Japanoloog en sinds juli 2010 werkzaam in Tokyo voor het investeringskantoor van het Nederlandse Ministerie van Economische Zaken. Hiervoor was hij directeur van het SieboldHuis. Hij is tevens redacteur van The Netherlands-Japan Review.